## 11 MARCH 1948

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## Thursday, 11 March 1948

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INTERNATIONAL MILITARY TRIBUNAL FOR THE FAR EAST Court House of the Tribunal War Ministry Building Tokyo, Japan

The Tribunal met, pursuant to adjournment, at 0930.

Appearances:

For the Tribunal, all Members sitting, with the exception of: HONORABLE JUSTICE E. STUART McDOUGALL, Member from the Dominion of Canada, not sitting from 0930 to 1200.

> For the Prosecution Section, same as before. For the Defense Section, same as before.

(English to Japanese and Japanese to English interpretation was made by the Language Section, IMTFE.)

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Military Tribunal for the Far East is now in session.

THE PRESIDENT: All accused are present except HIRANUMA, HIROTA, SHIRATORI, and UTZU, who are represented by counsel. The Sugamo Prison surgeon certifies that they are ill and unable to attend the trial today. The certificate will be recorded and filed.

Mr. Blewett.

MR. BLEVETT: If the Tribunal please, yesterday I was precluded by a ruling of the Tribunal from reading in my summation, to illustrate an important issue, a portion of a statement made by a high officer of the United States Army regarding U.S. war preparations.

THE PREFIDENT: Because it was not a statement of law but a statement of fact of which there was no evidence. Therefore it could not properly be read as part of the summation. There is no occasion to argue it. I have stated the facts. They cannot be controverted and that is the end of the matter.

PR. BLEVETT: If it please the Tribunal, we are not without precedent, if we need it, for the insertion of examples or illustrations not specifically in evidence.

THE PRESIDENT: We have always protested

against those things. We did only yesterday afternoon before your summation came on.

MR. BLEWETT: Selecting but one part of the prosecution's summation, the introductory statement of the Chief Prosecutor, we find in thirty pages four quotations.

tion whether this particular matter should be read by you. You had heard what we had said about matters read by Mr. Logan, and on the point raised by you we gave the only possible decision, and I have just repeated it. If there is anything in the Chief Prosecutor's address that is not law and which is not supported by evidence, we will disregard it.

MR. BLEWETT: I submit to the ruling, your Honor. But I simply want to point out that in our practice we have some latitude in arguing to a jury. Despite--

THE PRESIDENT: But this is not a jury.

MR. BLEWETT: Well--

THE PRESIDENT: We suspect that at times attempts have been made to use this Tribunal for political and propaganda purposes, but we have endeavored to prevent that.

MR. BLEWETT: My purpose, sir, was to explain

the reason for my use of that portion in my summation that was to me an apt illustration, one of the best I could find, as to the comparative activities between Japan and the "nited States. That is what we do continually before our courts at home, even our appellate courts.

THE PRESIDENT: Our simple duty is to find the facts from the evidence before us and to apply the law to those facts, and a summation which goes beyond that is useless to that extent. I am glad you gave us the opportunity to make plain our position, because things have been said in the course of summation not covered by the evidence and not law. Now we make plain what our position is. It has always been as I stated; it always will be as I stated.

Proceed to read the rest of your summation, I'r. Blewett.

MR. BLETTT: I just want to say, sir -THE PRY IDENT: I will not listen to any
further representations on this matter. Proceed to
read the balance of your summation.

MR. BLETETT: I think I reached page 13.

I start, if the Tribunal please, at the second paragraph, on page 13:

Going back to the volume of Japanese military armaments, let us test whether it was in excess of her needs, or, it may be more correct to say, her minimum requirements.

First of all, it is well to again point out that the numerical total strength of the Japanese Army was always for below the armies of China and the U.S.C.R. In the earlier years of the 1930's the Soviet Army in the Far Tast had aimed at the maintenance of three times the strength of the Kwantung Army, but subsequently the increased number of her planes and tanks tended to enhance further the ratio of the Soviet fighting power against Japan.

The prosecution harps insistently and tirelessly on the five year plans ellegedly drafted by

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the Japanese Army, in order to attempt to prove the
aggressive character of her armaments, notwithstanding that the witness OKADA, Kikusaburo, who participated in drafting those plans, testified that the
Japanese authorities concerned were forced to conclude
that Japan also should at least endeavor to reach
one-half of the Soviet Union's planned production at
the time of the conclusion of its (Soviet) bhird five

<sup>3.</sup> Tr. 23,006 4. F-2, tr. 39,328

year plan.

As to the production of steel, it has been disclosed that the production in the U.S.S.R. amounted to 17,700,000 tons in 1937, while in Japan the demand for steel by the Japanese Army four years later (1941) was for 1,000,000 tons only.

It is contended by the prosecution that

Japan endeavored to schieve a peacetime production
of at least 10,000 planes by the year 1939, but that
is undoubtedly a misquotation of the document; 10,000
planes was the desired capacity of the workshops and
the equipment and not the estimated annual production
of planes. Citing the passage in the record, it reads:

"(1) If an equipment capacity be maintained so as to make it possible to cope with a peace-time operation of 10,000 planes, the following mobilization will, even in the case of a peace-time actual demand of 3,000 planes, make the capacity reach close to an annual production of 2,000 planes from and after the 8th month, and over 2,000 planes from the 10th month."

Fowever, the above-mentioned figures of two or three thousand planes annually were but theoretical,

8. F-20, tr. 39,351 9. Tr. 8,375

7. Tr. 18,275

<sup>5.</sup> Tr. 18,274-5 6. Tr. 18,274

based upon the barest minimum demands, and compared to some other nations a mere pittance. But not even that pitifully meagre supply was forthcoming. The actual annual production of sircraft in Japan for 10 arry purposes was:

 1936......522

 1937.....745

 1938.....1500

 1939.....1450

 1940.....1390

1941.....1380

whelmingly great, and the prosecution attributes this scanty number of outmoded planes to be of the character of military preparation for aggressive wars, it has labored mightily and brought forth not even a mouse. To American counsel who represent a nation which produced 50,000 planes or more in one year it is an allegation which is not ludicrous but downright tragic in a case where the lives of conscientious public officials are at stake. No one but a Don Quiyote would start out to conquer the world with a handful of aircraft -- not in this day and age.

10. Tr. 18,293.

"ith a six-year plan looking towards the completion of armaments for national defense starting in 1937 the Japanese Army planned the storage of oil for the first time. According to this plan a mere.

36,000 kilolitres was arranged to be stored until 11 1943. Certainly the storage of this small quantity in a country where indigenous oil production is negligible does little to bolster the case of the prosecution that Japan's military preparedness program was aggressive.

From the foregoing examination of Japan's preparedness program we represent that the only conclusion that can be fairly deduced is that armaments during the years preceding the outbreak of the Pacific Ter were not excessive to the point where it can be maintained that they tended to be aggressive from the standpoint of volume -- a test that is beyond dispute.

As indicated previously, we shall now approach the subject of Japan's preparedness objectives from the viewpoint of the quality or kind of weapons designed to be constructed for the ermy. No evidence has been tendered that the Japanese army had any design for the manufacture of any type of long range cannon, or plans to construct a class of bomber of wide radius comparable to the B-29, nor has any evi-

11. Tr. 24,855

dence been proffered dealing with an atom bomb.

On the contrary, the type of armaments which 12 were designed to be supplied were rifles, light and heavy machine guns, heavy tanks and ordinary airplanes, all revealing none of those special characteristics or functions so fundamental for purposes of aggression.

At this juncture, when the 5-year plan of the Japanese army is considered, the defense feels it obligatory to make some comment. The prosecution appears to be adament in its insistence that the fact that the purpose of the 5-year Plan was to be accomplished by the end of the 1941 fiscal year that it was therefore connected closely with the outbreak of the Pacific War. In the cross-examination of the witness OKADA, Kikusaburo, it endeavored to connect the two, but the witness answered that the year referred to in the plan meant 1942 and not 1941. Further questioning gave the prosecution no help. The matter can be simply met.

In Japan a fiscal year begins on the 1st of April and ends on 31 Parch the year following. This is stipulated in Article I of the "Law of Account," and is very well known to all Japanese. The end of

<sup>12.</sup> Tr. 842, Appendix 7.

<sup>13.</sup> F-5, tr. 39,331

the 1941 fiscal year was 31 Merch 1942, and not December 1941. That is why the witness OKADA repeatedly enswered that the plan terminated in 1942. Therefore, the final fiscal year of the plan had nothing to do with the beginning of the Pacific "ar. The indication that 1942 was to be the first year of war in the plan shows nothing more than the theoretical denomination of the hypothetical first year of war according to the said five year plan. 1942 fiscal year, that is, from 1 April to 31 March 1943 is the first year of the war, regardless of whether the war happens to begin with an offensive action or a defense, according to the assumption of the 5-year plen. At the time of actual war in the Pacific the said fiscal year had been the second year after the hostilities.

Beyond the unelterable fact of the non-existence of any <u>specially</u> designed offensive weapon in
the entire Japanese national defense program, there
are other factors to prove that Japan did not enticipate warfare in the south western Facific against the
United States and Great Britain.

It will be recalled that defense witness

15. Tr. 18,331-32 16. Tr. 18,330

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NICHIURA, Gusumu, who from October 1931 to August 1941 was in charge of the preparation of war materials in the War Affairs Section, Military Affairs Bureau of the War Ministry. testified without challenge that, as Japan's attention had been directed to operations in cold, barren regions on the continent, no war materials had been prepared for use in the South Sea "e represent with sincere respect that the areas. unimpeached testimony of this witness should be accorded grave consideration by the members of the Tribunal. Armies do strenge things, but it is very doubtful if any army, especially one cognizant of tropical conditions, would outfit its troops with fur coats for jungle warfare.

Defense witness YOSHINAGA, Yoshitake, who from 1936 to the end of the war served at the Technologiccl Feadquarters of the army, testified unqualifiedly that the army's technological study had been concentrated on operations against the U.S.S.R., that is, on those operational plans related to extremely cold regions, and that the problem of the adaptability of weapons in tropical climates did not come up for consideration until in August 1941, when some army engineers were dispatched to Formosa in order to conduct Tr. 26,049 et seq.

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verious tests there on weapons. Pe further testified, without contradiction, that it was late in
October of the same year that the Tropical Test
Chembers was established. The inference to be drawn
from the testimony of these two defense witnesses is
emply translucent. This evidence when supplemented
with what has gone before is proof beyond even the
shedow of doubt that Japan did not plan, prepare or
even anticipate the wer in the south.

In its summation the prosecution refers to the testimony of NISHIURA, and attempts to confirm its contention that only 40 per cent of the budget was devoted to the China hostilities - the balance going for expansion of armaments. Fut the prosecution is in error in its hypothesis as the statement of the witness does not concern the budget but explains only where the munitions and oils were kept, and by so doing added further substantial proof to the defense contention that Japan had no intention and had made no provision for a campaign in the south.

In its argument on the testimony of this witness (NICHIURA) the prosecution refrains from including Formosa and French Indo-China, the eyact word-

<sup>18.</sup> Tr. 26,965 19. F-35, tr. 39,369

ing being:

"The distribution of ammunitions and aviation gasolines in the supplies for operations under the direct control of General Headquarters about the spring of 1941":

## AMMUNITIONS

Manchuria	20%
China Republic	30%
Japan Proper	50%
Formosa and French Indo-Chins	0%
AVIATION GASOLINE	
Manchuria	16%
China Republic	4%
Japan Proper	80%
Formose and French Indo-China.	0%

The statement convincingly reveals, with the additions which we have supplied, that by providing no storage of munitions in the southern part of her territory or in the southern overseas area, Japan had no conceived purpose of waging a war in the south western Pacific.

It is enother matter entirely, if the question should arise at this time, whether the prosecution 20. Tr. 26,952

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succeeds in proving an aggressive policy on the part of the Japanese Government within the period covered by the Indictment, especially from the Manchurian Incident down to the late fall of 1941, by citing other documents or witnesses concerning Japanese administrative action, all of which will be rebuted by defense counsel individually; as far as the army program of national preparedness is concerned there is not even a scintilla of evidence in the entire record to indicate that any portion of that preparetion bears even the remotest trace of aggression.

The witness Liebert has been extolled by the prosecution as the paragon who stigmatized the entire Japanese program of national defense as aggressive. Fe, who from his office in the agriculture department in mashington, knew little of the aims of Japan during a period of world industrial convulsion, nevertheless calmly proceeded to cover the entire industrial evolution of Japan after a few months study of selected documents and inquiry from newly staffed governmental agencies. Thile his opinions are ignored by the Tribunal, and his facts have been riddled by other defense counsel, we, to avoid any misunderstanding, feel it a proper function to acquaint the Tribunal and the prosecution with the truth concerning the increase in

Japanese budget figures during the years in question.

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In its summation, 21 the prosecution cites the figures supplied by the Japanese Finance Minister concerning the Military Budget and its ratio to the general Budget of Japan, challenging the credibility of the figures set forth by the defense witness ISHIBASHI, Tanzon. The prosecution seems to have overlooked the distinction between this budget and the settled account in the Japanese financial system. The figures cited by the witness ISHIBASHI are also those supplied by the Finance Ministry, but they are not those of budget; they are those of the settled account. This should be unerringly proved by the words "Sources: Finance Hinistry's Announcement: the settled account," affixed to table 19, List of the Annual Military Expenditure, which in turn is cited in line 24 of the transcript (p. 25,428) and line 15 of the transcript. (P. 2430). Why then does there exist differences between budget figures and that of settled account?

Japan adopted the system of fiscal year account. Budget is only an estimate of expenses expected to be needed, as averyone knows, during the next fiscal year, and approved by the Diet at the 21. F-32, Tr. 39,367.

end of the previous year. Actual amounts of money to be spent are bound to be within the limit of the budget figures. In practice the amounts defrayed are under that limit. The settled amounts are the sums actually spent, and audited by the competent authorities. Article LXXII of the old Constitution stipulated:

Green een b "The final ascount of the expenditures and revenue of the state shall be verified and confirmed by the Board of Audit, and shall be submitted by the Government to the Imperial Diet, together with the report of verification of the said Board."

account. The system is somewhat different from the usage of "appropriation" in England and America. It is evident that it does not make sense to cite budget figures for the purpose of trying to prove what has been the actual sum spent by any department of the Japanese Government during a given period. The figures used by the witness, ISHIBASHI, are unquestionably suitable and proper for the purpose of investigating the comparative amount defrayed for armaments purposes during the consecutive years involved.

In the foregoing we have not generally the contention of the prosecution relative to the army for alleged aggressive warfare. We shall now proceed to analyze military strategy as it may appertain to the broad program of Japan's policy of national defense to determine if in any particular it was directed at wars of aggression.

Formulating theories of a mystery-story

22. Ex. 68

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pattern, and having recourse to them inferentially, the prosecution has evolved what they purport to believe is an over-all operational plan formulated by the Japanese Government and the High Command for an offensive war against the United States, Great Britain and Holland.

the prosecution boldly In its summation, declares that prior to August 1941 Japan had a complete plan for an aggressive war against those countries. Though the document setting forth this plan, it says, is missing it is possible to reconstruct the strategic plan completely. Then, quoting the record pertaining to its evidence of table-top maneuvers, which were carried out at the Total Var Research Institute in the same month of the same year, it describes what it argues is the aggressive plan of Japan including domestic policy, diplomacy and strategy.

According to its theory, the Total War Research Institute indulged in "research and study in order to test the validity of plans already formulated so that they might be perfected, and to lay the ground-work for the preparation of further plans to meet new conditions" brought about by the execution

23. F-40, Tr. 39,377

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of the first plan. That is to say, the Total War
Research Institute was responsible for testing the
first plan. Therefore, the prosecution concludes
snugly, the record of these table-top maneuvers,
being good, sound secondary evidence, indicates well
the contents of the first plan, which was the object
of the test.

The only trouble with this ingenious inference of the prosecution is that it is utterly fallacious. Several grounds which should constitute its premise are assumed dogmatically without evidence.

Firstly, the fact that the Total War Research Institute was authorized to test the first plan, which was decided secretly either by the Government or by the Supreme Command, or, by both, is not proved. Actually, in the Official Organization of the Institute on 10 October 1940, which is quoted by the prosecution, only two matters — basic study in total warfare and the education of students — are mentioned as the objects of the Institute.

Secondly, the prosecution did not produce evidence that in the execution of the table-top maneuvers in August 1941 the plan of operations and

26. Tr. 39,382

<sup>24.</sup> Tr. 39,381-2 25. Tr. 39,382

the diplomatic policy, which were in possession of either the Government or the Supreme Command, were shown for the maneuvers. Although there is some evidence that the Research Institute could utilize secret figures regarding statistics, etc., there is no evidence that the strategic or other all-over secret plan decided upon by the Government or Supreme Command had ever been shown to the Institute. Such plans, if any, must of necessity be top secret in all countries. It is beyond all imagination that such confidential matters perhaps affecting a nations security could be pawed over by a group of students in a course of study of a semi-public nature.

Thirdly, if the plan prepared by either the Government or the Supreme Command had actually been tested in those maneuvers the results should have been submitted to either the Government or the Supreme Com and. Nevertheless, the prosecution's witness, HORIBA, testified that no such report had ever been made.

In view of the above overwhelming, specific evidence to the contrary it is utterly impossible to assume the existence of the so-called first plan.

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Tr. 3833 and 27,069 Tr. 8856

That such a plan ever existed is irreconcilable with the facts.

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It could be that the prosecution proceeded on its theory as a result of its knowledge of the Rainbow Operation and the Orange Operation in the possession of the Staff of the United States Naval Operations. Such an idea is plausible, and, no doubt, lead the prosecution to conjecture that Japan also had a similar "over all strategic plan." However, there was no such plan in Japan. What had been conceived by the Japanese High Command was only the socalled "Annual Strategic Plan" against the United Although the text of this plan was really lost by fire, defense witness TANAKA, Shinichi, explained that its contents were defensive, as well as negative, and that it was not so comprehensive as to include natters of diplomacy, domestic policy, etc., as set forth in the record.

In this connection it is to be recalled that at the Investigation Committee of the Privy Council on 26 September 1940 TOJO in answer to an interpolation said:

"The manpower needed by our Army in a war against America would be comparatively small in 31. Tr. 26,984 30. Ex. 3662

number, " meaning that he replied pursuant to the text of this "Annual Strategic Plan Against the United States," and with that kind of a defensive plan in mind. There is no other significance in the answer whatsoever unless to emphasize more strongly the small scale and negative nature of the plan itself.

Again, it is beyond belief that there existed in Japan two plans, the annual strategic plan and a so-called "first plan," inagined by the prosecution. The prosecution seems to take for granted that the tern "total war" is synonymous with the undefined term "Aggressive war," and proceeding on this selfmade but erroneous hypothesis considers that it can directly establish the existence of a plan for aggressive war by presenting evidence concerning research for total war. It was made abundantly clear in the light of experience in World War I that when a modern war breaks out anong great powers, whether that war be defensive or offensive, it is bound to develop into total war. Consequently, and very properly so, all countries valuing their evistence were engaged in research on total war. The only difference in this respect between Japan and other countries is that 32. Tr. 6369

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governmental and business circles, including the Courts. There does not appear in substance to be any great dissimilarity between that research group and numerous commissions, councils and bureaus formed in all countries for the same purpose after the first world war. The volume of testimony introduced here and its tenor concerning Japan's inquiry of the subject seems to be entirely out of all proportion to its importance. At any rate it has been definitely and firmly established that the institution had no voice, direction or concern with the actual policies of the Government nor in any military operations connected with the Supreme Command, so the prosecution's summation argument, that either one decided on such a comprehensive plan is immoderately lacking in conviction and nerit.

Still aggressively persistent, which we admire in a prosecution however absurd its challenge may be, it alleges further that a similar over-all comprehensive plan had existed prior to January 1941, citing exhibit 852, and stating: "although the entire plan is not available, fortunately a portion of the plan kept in the ministry of Finance has been Tr. 8346-8851-27,060-27,068 Tr. 39,377-79

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35. Tr. 8346-8851-27,060-27,068 36. Tr. 39,377-79

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presented to the Tribunal."

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This is a record of the communication in which the Chief of the Intendance Bureau of the Var ministry and the Chief of the Finance Bureau of the Finance ministry discussed from around January 1941 regarding the printing of military notes to be used in the South Seas area; it bein; obvious that in the event of military occupation that might follow a war, whether defensive or offensive, the use of such currency would be indispensable. It cannot be precisely inferred from the fact that responsible Government officials, who were imposed with the duty of anticipating every contengency, had proceeded with the undertaking at an early date was evidence of a comprehensive aggressive plan devised by the Government and the Supreme Command. The Government had numerous organs, each with its own particular function, not necessarily connected with each other. It occurs, not infrequently, that one of such organs takes a hypothetical step which is incompatible with the policies of other sections of a governmental organ. Therefore, from the attitude of a section in dealing with its business one cannot prove the existence of a general policy on the part Tr. 39,374 37.

of the Government. Defense witness YOSHIMA, Tosuke, has testified concerning military notes to be used in Comparing his testimony with the South Seas area. it is easily recognizable that even exhibit 3026. as late as the end of October 1941 the printing of military currency meant nothing more than a precautionary step "in the eventuality of the outbreak of war."

It has been repeatedly proved in this case, both by defense and prosedution, that in Japan all operational plans were to be decided by the General administrative matters by the Cabinet, and matters involving both at the Liaison Conference or at an Imperial Conference. In order to prove that Japan was planning an over-all aggression during the period from January to August 1941, as charged, one must first of all prove that the General Staff, the Cabinet, the Liaison Conference or the Inperial Conference had decided upon such a plan. We submit that the prosecution at no period in the case presented that requisite proof.

The prosecution also alleges that Japan's plan for aggressive war dates back to 7 August 1936, inferring this from the "Basic Principles of National

Tr. 26,971 Tr. 26,980

40. Tr. 17,550-51 41. Tr. 39,326

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Policy" adepted at the Five winister's Conference 1 of the HIROTA Cabinet. In citing this policy, the 2 prosecution contends that the words "national defense" 3 should be read "war." That, however, would not be a .4 fair interpretation of the language used in the document. In those days, as has been referred to herein, and which is known universally, there was no selfrespecting nation in the world which did not consider 8 national defense the most urgent affair of the state. If we admit this allegation of the prosecution we 10 would be compelled to brand as aggressors all the 11 independent countries of the world, amounting to more . 12 than sixty. "National defense" mentioned in the "Basic 13 Principles of National Policy" was identical with 14 15 the case in most countries, of a purely defensive 16 character, as is clear from Paragraph 3 which reads: 17 "in order to eradicate the Soviet menace in the North 18 and at the same time to prepare against Britain and 19 America . . . in carrying out these policies, we 20 would be careful to have friendly relations with other countries." Consequently, it is convincingly apparent that the basic policy as formulated by reason of 23 the awareness of the actions of other countries was no plan for war at all, much less an agressive war. It

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Tr. 2727-8

only emphasized the mission which Japan alone was willing to undertake; to guarantee peace in Asia in view of the then prevailing world policy of other Powers.

The whole sun and substance of the situation is, therefore, that in examining the world condition and the special circumstances in East Asia after World War I the Government, the Diet and the general public of Japan had since 1935 or 1936 become conscious of the necessity of strengthening national defense for the sake of the self-existence of Japan, as well as by reason of her responsibility to maintain peace in East Asia. But the fantastic idea that these two essentials be achieved by opening a war against the United States, Great Britain and the Netherlands never was contemplated. Simply on its face the contention is so wispy we wonder at the tenacity which launched it. Assuredly it cannot be seriously reflected upon in this inquiry.

The idea of opening a war against these countries, in self-defense, however, was forced upon the minds of the Japanese people in the Fall of 1941, and not before, as the defense has proved. At that time drastic acts by these nations against Japan had spread over a long period, continually growing in intensity and apprehension until finally culminating to a point where Japan had to make a decision. The plans then conceived for the first time, as discovered by United States Army investigations, disclose that the Japanese planned a purely defensive war, and that the Army, which is charged with a long range and stupendous expansion in its southwest campaigns, carried out these operations with dangerously small forces. It is affirmed that the early conquests were accomplished by a mere thirteen divisions, 1175 land planes, 475 carrier planes, plus a handful of marines. By juggling these forces strateg. ically Japan created the impression of much greater strength. This, with the foregoing, is indicative of Japan's hasty attempt at meeting the issue pressed upon her. The prosecution in its summation finally gives up the struggle by honestly admitting, "After November 5 (1941) full scale preparations were launched."43 It is submitted that concerning these accused

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43. F-50, Tr. 39,391

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who had official responsibility for the protection and existence of their nation, the proof fails completely to brand them as aggressors.

Mr. Lazarus will continue.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Lazarus.

MR. LAZARUS: If the Tribunal please.

THE PRESIDENT: We express the hope that this summation and those that follow in the individual cases will be confined to the law and to the evidence admitted.

MR. LAZARUS: Mine is exclusively on the evidence, Mr. President.

MR. SUTTON: May it please the Tribunal, the summation, which was received by the prosecution late vesterday afternoon, upon a hurried examination reveals that it contains therein what purports to be quotations from evidence rejected and from evidence not offered.

THE PRESIDENT: Point out those passages to Mr. Lazarus, please.

MR. SUTTON: Shall I point them out at this time, or hand to the Tribunal a memorandum?

THE PRESIDENT: You may be able to point them out during the first recess.

MR. SUTTON: None of these, if it please your ... Honor, appear, as I recall, within the first fifty pages

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of the summation.

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THE PRESIDENT: Yes, Mr. Lazarus.

MR. LAZARUS: (Rending) Although the prosecution has named the accused, General HATA, Phunroku, in a majority of the fifty-five counts in the Indictment, the twenty months of trial have revealed a tremendous variance between the charges made against this accused and the actual evidence produced by the prosecution.

Because of this variance and because this accused has been mistakenly named in some counts in the Indictment, and because of our unchallenged statement (7. 16,319 and 16,320) that the evidence shows that the wrong HATA is named in the Russian counts in the Indictment instead of Hikosaburo HATA, who was Chief of Staff of the Kwantung Army when that Army was taken prisoner by the Russians, and which HATA was not produced here although the Tribunal issued a subpoena for him at our request, we must look elsewhere than the Indictment and the evidence itself to determine what the prosecution clairs, so that we may make an intelligent summation to assist the Tribunal in its deliberations. We shall, therefore, as we did in General HATA's individual defense, look to the prosecution's answer to our motion for dismissal, wherein the prosecution sets forth its claims as to what it had

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proven in its case-in-chief against HATA, and we will show the Tribunal that we have met and have completely overcome all issues raised by the prosecution against this accused.

Mr. Comyns-Carr's answer to our motion for dismissal (pages 16,826 to 16,832 of the Record) sets out fully all the evidence which, the prosecution contends, applies to the accused HATA. A reading of these pages reveals the amazing fact that in only three places in all these pages does the prosecution state that HATA himself took any action or any part in the matters therein set forth. Throughout the pages it can be seen that the alleged evidence against the accused HATA is a recitation of actions done by others, events in which it is not contended that HATA took part.

Relying on the sound law enunciated by the President during these proceedings, that unless the accused himself were connected by evidence in some manner with the actions taken by others in the government while he was a member of that government the Court would not hold the accused responsible for such actions, we will not take up the time of this Tribunal by answering all the fer-fetched evidence with which the prosecution in these pages has sought to connect the accused HATA.

We, therefore, will address ourselves only to those

matters which the prosecution itself has claimed directly involve the accused by his own acts.

General HATA is accused of having participated in the overall aggression of Japan in three different wavs. (1) That he carried on aggressive war in China at two different periods of time as commander of various armies in China; (2) As Minister of War in the ABE and VONAI Cabinets, he helped determine the national policy and worked on plans and preparations for aggressive war during that period; and (3) That he was one of the prime movers in the overthrow of the YONAI Cabinet, thus giving new direction and expansion to the entire conspiracy. Lastly, the accused is charged with responsibility for the alleged atrocities committed by Japanese soldiers in China during the times that he commanded the several armies in China. This is the sum total of the evidence the prosecution alleges it has adduced against the accused HATA and we will now show, point by point, that the prosecution has completely and totally failed to prove these allegations.

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Point 1. "That he carried on aggressive war in China at two different periods of time as commander of various armies in China." From his personal record, the Tribunal, of course, knows the accused HATA has been a life-long soldier. Once his country became involved

in a war, it was absolutely beyond his province to seek first to determine the nature of the war before serving his country as a soldier. This Tribunal is well aware of the prison terms meted out in allied countries to conscientious objectors, members of certain religious sects, whose tenets forbid them to bear arms even in defense of their own country. How much stronger, then, is the duty imposed on a man who has been trained and supported all his life by his country for just that occasion -- the outbreak of war. Nowhere in all the recorded history of man and what is more important to us, in the long record of this Tribunal, has it anywhere been suggested that the profession of arms is dishonorable or that a life-long soldier must first determine whether the war in which his country is engaged is an aggressive war or not, for fear that should his country lose the war, he will then be accused of, and tried for, carrying on aggressive war as commander of an army. And the duty to fight without question is no less strictly imposed on a man who because of education and ability holds high rank in his country's armed forces than on the civilian who is drafted to fight. Nowhere in the constitution of any country is there a provision that each individual may determine for himself whether or not he will support his country's war effort.

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We are still speaking now of the first point that MATA "carried on aggressive warfare in China at two different periods of time as commander of various armies in China." We shall take up and answer later the second point, with reference to his actions as War Minister. The Record shows (exhibit 102) that at the outbreak of the China Incident on 7 July 1937 the accused HATA was commander of the Japanese Army Unit on Taiwan (Island of Formosa). That exhibit shows HATA had held that position for a year prior to the outbreak of the Incident, hence could have had no connection of any nature whatsoever with the outbreak of the affair. As Mr. Comvns-Carr savs (T. 16,826-7) as he begins to outline the prosecution's position with reference to HATA, "After serving for many years in the army, the accused at the time of the outbreak of the Marco Polo Bridge Incident was Commander of the Formosan Army." Thus, the prosecution openly admits that although HATA is named in Counts dating back to 1928, their evidence against him does not begin until late in August 1937, some seven weeks after the outbreak of the China Incident, when he left his Formosa post and went to Tokyo to become Inspector General of Military Education (exhibit 102). That is HATA's first position of importance in the Japanese Army and, we stress again, was

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not assumed until seven weeks after the beginning of the China affair. The prosecution clearly, it seems to us, absolves HATA of any connection with the beginning or planning of the China Incident, since no evidence was introduced to show HATA, while holding his position for a year before the Incident's outbreak in Formosa, had attended any conferences or councils, belonged to any party, group or clique of politicians or officers who advocated action in China. This is especially clear since in the very next sentence to the one above quoted with which he opened his outline of evidence against HATA, Mr. Comyns-Carr states (T. 16,827), "In August 1937, shortly after the outbreak, he was recalled to Tokyo to become Inspector-General of Military Education HATA held this post for less than six months, for on 17 February 1938, he relieved the accused MATFUI in China, this being the first of his two tours of duty as a commander in China.

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Mr. Carr goes on to state that because of his becoming Inspector-General of Military Education seven weeks after the beginning of the China Incident the recused HATA, by being the Inspector-General of Military Education, was one of the Three Chief's who nominate the new War Minister whenever there is a crbinet change, was "at the very outset of the China Incident in a strong strategic position to affect policy." The fact that he was in a position to have done so is true, but the inference that he did or that merely by being in the position of Inspector-General, of Military Education he could affect nolicy is absolutely false. We will not go into the function of the position of Inspector-General of Military Education, but relying on the Tribuncl's knowledge of that position which has been thoroughly explained time again in this long trial, we noint out only that the Inspector-General can exercise influence only in nominating a new Wer Minister in the event of a change of crbinets. And the record shows there was no crbinet change in the period between late August 1937 when HATA assumed the post and 17 February 1939 when HATA relieved MATSUI in China.

To summerize: By the prosecution's own statement and its own exhibit (102) the accused HATA

neither did, nor was he in a position to plan, prepare, initiate or wage a war of aggression assinst China. We do not, since the above statement is true, argue here the merits of the China War as a wer of aggression or a war of self-defense against the spreading Communist menace. General HATA simply was not involved in it at its inception, by reason of his being on a far-off island at the outbreak, nor did he, by becoming Inspector-General of Military Education after the outbreak, have anything to do with policy, since he had no opportunity to help nominate t new Wer Minister who may or may not have continued on the course already embarked upon by the Jananese Government when HATA come to Tokyo on 26 August 1937. The prosecution's position then, boils down to this HATA, it is charged, "Carried on aggressive warfare in China at two different periods of time as commander of various armies in China" simply because he was a life-long soldier and he hapmened to be of high enough rank, after wer broke out, to command on army. Thet, then, is his sin. The wer was not of his doing, he was in no position to stop it once it broke out, but he did fight in it for his country. He didn't volunteer, but neither did he refuse to fight and resign his condission in order not to have to fight. Is that,

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then, the price that the prosecution would demand of t arn who had chosen the profession of arms for his life's work? Do the Allied prosecution and the countries represented here, my own included, seek, by levelling such a charge at a professional soldier, to strite is the liw of these countries that a man who fights for his country when he is called upon to do so because of his membership in the honorable profession of arms, must, if he was born in a country destined to lose the war, face the charge by his victorious opponents that he "carried on aggressive" werfire" and be put on trial for his life? Nothing in the Potsdem Declaration, nothing in any of the League of Mations Coventions, nothing in the Treaties, nothing in International Law, nothing in the Charter of the Tribunal, even hint of such a possibility. We rest of esse with the Tribunch's judgment on this cherge.

Point 2. Quote: "As Minister of Wer from /ugust 30, 1939, to July 22, 1940, he helped determine the national policy and worked on the plans and preparations for aggressive war during that period." This second point is divided obviously into two parts, the first being the determination of the national policy, and the second being the planning and preparing

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for an aggressive war in the future. As the Tribunal has heard from other accused who have held the position of Wer Minister, nemely Generals ARAKI and MINAMI, the Wer Minister did not creste or determine national policy. National policy with reference to the China Incident had already been determined and laid down by the First KONOYF Cobinet during the life of which the Chine Affeir had borken out. From the few thousands of Jopenese troops present in Chine when the Incident begin, the Jepanese Army in Chine had grown to 900,000 when HATA became Wer Minister. No Fer Minister who had preceded HaTA had cut down or had even tried to cut down the size of the Japanese forces in China. Always, because of the circumstances, the number of Japanese troops had continued to grow. As Brigedier Molen stated in his explanation to the Tribunal of the position of the War Minister (589), "Briefly one might say that the Minister of War administers. . ." We re speaking, the Tribunal of course realizes, of the days before the Second KONOY! Cabinet and subsequent cabinets, when the War Minister was still not r powerful figure politically and, as General ARAKI and MINAMI have testified, and as Brigadier Nolan tells us, the War Minister merely administerd and errried out the policies of the erbinet. In the

free of this, General HATA was the first for Minister to take positive steps to bring an end to the China Incident by actually beginning negotiations with Chirng Kai-shek for the termination of the Incident by mking the previously unheard of Japanese concession of offering to withdraw all Japanese troops from China.

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Still taking the bull by the horns and determining national policy, according to his own views for the quick settlement of the Chine Incident, and breaking eway from the former national policy which had permitted the growth of the Japanese Army to 900,000 men in Chine, he broked up his negotiations with Chirng Kai-shek with a show of good faith by reducing, when he presented his first army budget as War Minister, the Japanese strength in China to 500,000 men. Because of the strenuous objections by the General Staff to any such wholesale slash in Japanese strength in China, the figure was finally set at 600,000. This, then, is an example of the way General HATA, as War Minister "helped determine the national policy and 22 worked on the plans and proparations for aggressive wer during that period." But before we go further into his actions as Wer Minister, let us examine the prosecution's evidence "that as Minister of War from

August 30, 1939, to July 22, 1940, he helped determine national policy and worked on the plans and preparations for aggressive war during that period."

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First, it is claimed (16,827-28) that "during his administration several of the important acts involving furtherence of the conspirecy were carried out. Certain industries such as the Cost Iron Menufacturing Facilities Industry were brought under control (record page 8,327; 8,403; 8,299)." An exemination of these pages of the record reveals that this evidence is to be found in the testimony of the elleged economic expert Liebert. Two of these three acts involved the Ministry of Commerce and Industry and one involved the 'ar and Navy Ministries. Taking them in numerical order, the first (8,299) it turns out, is the Corl Distribution Law. This Law was exercised through the Connerce and Industry Ministry. The next (8,327) is the Cast Iron Manufacturing Facilities Restricting Regulation of September 23, 1939, Commerce and Industry Department. The last one (8,403) shows that mursuant to the already existing General Mobilization Law, Imperial Ordinance 901 of 28 December 1939 was promulgated. It was called "Use and Expropriation Ordinance of Fretories and Workshops." Under it "the War and Nevy Ministries

were given authority to authorize expropriation of land, buildings, natorials, etc." There is no evidence whatsoever that HATA had this ordinance promulgated or that he ever used it. In fact, there is no evidence that he had anything to do with any of these three regulations or that he ever knew about their existence.

We next learn that "On October 12, 1939, the accused appointed MUTO as Chief of the highly important Military Affairs Bureau in the War Ministry . . ."

Presumably because MUTO is also an accused in this trial this appointment constitutes some heinous act.

That there was nothing unusual or extraordinary or conspiratorial about this action is shown by the evidence of the witness INUMA, Mamoru, (28997) who states:

"In September 1939, I recommended Major General MUTO as Chief of Military Affairs Bureau to General HATA who was then the War Minister, as the proper person to be appointed to that position. I made this recommendation in accordance with my duties as Chief of the Personnel Affairs Bureau. It is the duty of the Chief of the Personnel Affairs Bureau to make recommendations to the War Minister for the appointment of officers to the various positions in the army. I made this recommendation after Lieutenant General MACHIJIRI, the outgoing Chief of the Military Bureau had recommended General MUTO as his successsor and, after I, myself, had fully considered the opinions of the Military Affairs Bureau. In accordance with the regular

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military procedure in such matters, War
Minister HATA then submitted the name of
Major General MUTO to the Three Chiefs'
Council. Major General MUTO was then designated to the position as Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau by the Three Chiefs'
Council.

"General HATA always followed regular military precedure in all matters affecting the War Ministry and he accepted my recommendation of General MUTO without question and
did his duty and submitted his name to the Three
Chiefs' Conference. My recommendation of
Major General MUTO, General HATA's acceptance
of that recommendation, and his presentation of
General MUTO to the Three Chiefs' Conference,
and the acceptance by the Three Chiefs' Conference of the recommendation of General MUTO
were all in accordance with regular procedure
in such matters in the War Ministry."

There is no evidence of any nature whatscever that General MUTO was not a proper person to be appointed to such a position. There is no evidence that General MUTO was engaged in any conspiracy for world conquest at this time. In short, there is no evidence

that General HATA, when he nominated General MUTO was furthering any conspiracy or was determining national policy in any wrongful direction by nominating General MUTO after General MUTO had been recommended to General HATA in the normal, usual routine practiced by the Japanese Army in such matters. Whatever the prosecution may see fit to charge against General MUTO later, after General MUTO assumed this position, can certainly not be held against the accused HATA for, as it is already stated, there is no evidence that General MUTO's political conduct before this appointment had be a anything but above repreach.

Next, Mr. Comyns Carr points out that "In November, Imperial General Headquarters, which had never been established heretofore, except in case of wer, was set up (Exhibit 80)." We cmit the rest of this paragraph because we have discovered that this prosecution evidence is incorrect. It is really 1937, November instead of 1939, November and not during hata's time.

Next comes: "During the ABE Cabinet of 1939, pressure was put on France to give Japan special rights in French Indo-China (Exhibits 616-A, 618-A). Shortly after the YONAI Cabinet was formed on January 16, 1940, pressure was put on the Netherlands for special

rights in the Dutch East Indies (Exhibit 309-A)". Let us examine these exhibits for any connection with the accused HATA. Exhibit 616-A it turns out, is an excerpt from "Business Report of 1939 published by the Board of South Seas, 1941" and is nothing but a review by some unknown author or authors of the course of the China Affair and France-Japanese diplomatic relations over Indo-China. Nowhere does the name of General HATA appear, and the conclusion that "pressure was put on France to give Japan special rights in Indo-China" is unwarranted as to him. At all events, HATA is not even remotely connected with this exhibit. Exhibit 618-A is an excerpt from the same source, and, again, nowhere does it appear that HATA is remotely connected. Exhibit No. 1309-A is a book written by Hubertus J. Van Mook and published by Norton Company in New York. This book is the author's review of Japanese-Dutch East Indies relations over the past years and in no wise is General HATA mentioned or even remotely connected with such relations either directly or indirectly. I need hardly remind the Tribunal of the action it took whenever the defense sought to introduce excerpts from books similar to the ones from which these three excerpts were taken, and the comments the Tribunal made as to the value of such testimony, even

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if it should be accepted.

Next, we learn that "on February 16, the Military Mission at Harbin drew up a plan for establishing a Far Eastern Anti-Comintern to unite sabotage activities against the Seviet Union (Exhibit 736)." Examination of the certificate of this exhibit reveals that this exhibit, the original of which is in the archives in Moscow, purports to be an excerpt from "the conference of chiefs of army organs in Northern Manchuria," and the exhibit itself shows that it is by the Army Special Service Organization at Harbin. Nowhere is the name of HATA mentioned, nor is it stated that his office approved of, or took part in this discussion. nor that his office was in any wise connected with it. Moreover, the Tribunal well knows that overseas units do not come under the control of the War Minister, but are directed in their operation by the General Staff and still further that the Kwantung Army in whose territory this plan was drawn up, is an autonomous unit and is in no wise under the control of the War Minister.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we will recess now for fifteen minutes.

(Whereupon, at 1045, a recess was taken until 1100, after which the proceedings were

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## resumed as follows:)

MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International Military Tribunal for the Far East is now resumed.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Lazarus, I reported to my colleagues that you, Mr. Tavenner, and Mr. Sutton saw me in my chambers during the recess, and that you contended that you were entitled to read on your summation evidence that had been expressly rejected by the Court simply because it appears in the document tendered for identification only. The Tribunal have decided to prevent you -- they have unanimously decided to prevent you from reading any such evidence so rejected.

IR. LAZIRUS: How about the portions, if the Tribunal please, that had never been offered in evidence and not rejected?

of opinion that you cannot read on your surrection anything that has not been admitted in evidence, whether tendered for identification or not. That, of course, applies to all surrections, and so far as necessary that werning extends to all counsel reading their surrections. I do not think it will be necessary in many cases, if in any cases.

LR. LAZARUS: I now continue reading from the bottom of page 17.

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Next, we learn that "during this administration the economic policy for relieving Japan of its dependency on the United States for military goods necessary to carrying out the divine war was adopted (exhibit 1007)." The very first sontence of the exhibit shows that it speaks of "economic policy which should be taken in connection with diplomacy towards U. S. A." The exhibit does not state that this policy was adopted, and no where is there mention of a "divine war." Here important to the individual case of General HATA, the name of General HATA no where appears in the exhibit, nor is it even hinted that he or his office are connected with the proposed economic policy either directly, or indirectly.

Continuing, we next see that "during the same month of March, the program of the Kwantung Army for aggression against the Soviet was sanctioned (exhibit 705)." Examination of this exhibit reveals that it is the affidavit of Lieutenant-General TOMINAGA, Kyoji, a prisoner of war of the Soviet Union. On page 5 of this exhibit we see that the plan was sanctioned in March of 1940 and that the plan was reported to Prince K/MIN, the Chief of the General Staff Headquarters, who in turn reported it to the Emperor. These are the only two people to whom the

plan was reported. Obviously, then, if the plan were reported only the KANIN and to the Emperor, HATA and the Wer Ministry could have known nothing about it, could have had no connection with it whatsoever, and could certainly have no responsibility for it. It is again stated to the Tribunal that the Kwantung Arry, being an eversees unit worked only through General Headquarters as the evidence has shown, and not through the War Ministry. Of Prince KANIN, the Chief of the General Staff, and his forcing HATA to resign as War Minister, because of his, HATA's opposition to the Tripartite Pact, we shall have more to say later.

The next time (16,829) shows that "en March 30 the pupper Central Government of Wang Ching Wei at Nanking was established (exhibit 276A)." The exhibit turns out to be a two-line excerpt from the Japan Year Book 1941-42, page 1000, making note of the establishment of the Central Government. As in all previous exhibits, no mention of the accused HATA is made, nor is there a hint or a suggestion that HATA was in anywise connected with this event.

We next learn that "severer regulations were put into effect by the War Ministry with respect to

exhibit shows that this was a War Ministry ordinance and, of course, was issued in the name of the then War Minister, General HATA. However, instead of the exhibit's showing that severer regulations were put into effect with respect to military training in schools, the very first sentence of the exhibit says "the following revision will be made in the regulation regarding the inspection of Military Training Course in the Youth School." And, indeed, a reading of the exhibit reveals it to be just that and only that. How Mr. Carr ever came to conclude that this exhibit revealed "severer regulations with respect of military training in schools," we do not know.

We next find that "the accused attended the Four Minister's Conference of June 18, 1940, which decided to make certain requests upon France, and in the event of refusal to use force (exhibit 619). Following this a further program of pressure was put into effect against France (exhibit 615A, 618A)." Examination of the first exhibit (619) reveals that this is an excerpt from KIDO's diary. KIDO had a talk with the Foreign Minister and he discussed the two plans which were debated at the previous day's Four Ministers' Conference. The value of such evidence glanned

second-hand about matters discussed on the previous day, we leave to this Tribunal. It shows that two plans were considered: One, "that a request be submitted regarding the pro-Chiang acts, and in case the request is refused by the French, that force be employed"; and the second, "that force be employed from the beginning on the idea that negotiation is unnecessary." The decision was that the military rinisters wanted the first plan to be adopted. The Tribunal, of course, is well aware, that no action was taken with reference to Indo-China during the YONAI Cabinet's life. Subsequent negotiations and the landing of troops in Indo-China took place during the Second KONOYE Calinet when the accused HATA was no longer in the government. Exhibit 615A is an excerpt from the Tokyo Gazette and is issued by the Bureau of Information, Department of Foreign Affairs. We again respectfully remind the Tribunal of the position it took when the defense sought to introduce what were termed "hand-outs" of this nature and its remarks as to their value as evidence. Further, nowhere does it anyour that General HATA, either directly or indirectly, had anything to do or was in anywise connected with the diplomatic negotiations and representations alluded to in this excerpt. Of exhibit 618A, we have spoken

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Next, we find that "in March 1940, the accused, as War Minister, made it clear that Japan's progress would not be stopped by the Nine-Power Treaty (exhibit 914)." This exhibit it turns but, is a report by Ambassador Ott to the German Foreign Office on the "report of strong words by the spokesman of the army in the Diet that Japan's progress in China cannot be stopped by the obsolete Nine-Power Treaty. !!

The last exhibits (527 and 528) referred to by the prosecution under point 2 . (16829) are minutes of a joint conference at the Foreign Ministry among War, Navy, and Foreign Office officials discussing the possible aspects of a Tripartite Pact. No decision is made, all aspects are explored in interminable talk. This is no more than government discussion of one of the leading issues of the day by the permanent members of these ministries. That it is not on a high policy level is seen by the fact that the War Ministry is represented by a lieutenant-solonel and the General Staff by a major. A reading of the documents shows that they intended to place their thoughts on the subject before their superiors later. Newhere is the name of HATA or the War Minister mentioned. It is not even suggested that he knew about, sanctioned,

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agreed with or took part directly or indirectly in the talks. About HATA's stand on the Tripartite Pact, we'll discuss under the prosecution's point 3, that HATA was "one of the prime movers in the overthrow of the YONAI Cabinet." With reference to these exhibits we again respectfully refer to the President's statements that unless an accused is himself connected with an exhibit, the Tribunal will not hold him responsible for actions taken by the government of which he is a member, when it is not shown he knew of the actions or that he took part in them. Further, these two joint conferences took place on 12 and 16 July, 1940, and on the very next page (16830), Mr. Carr tells us that War Minister HATA "On 16th July submitted his resigna" tion. . " It is impossible, therefore, that HATA could have been involved in the 16 July neeting, which was a continuation of the study begun 12 July. The Tribunal will also note, the minutes of these studies were found, according to the certificates attached to the exhibits, in the Foreign Ministry, not the War Ministry.

This, then, is the sum total of all the evidence the prosecution has introduced and which it claims proves HATA "helped determine the national policy and worked on the plans and preparations for

aggressive war during that period" while he was War Minister. Not one single act of his own is shown. It all consists of what others said and did and there is no evidence there involving HATA or his office. Now let us exemine the record and see what HATA cic do while in office and let us see if he "worked on plans and preparations for aggressive war during that period." The evidence on HATA's behalf began on September 19, 1947 (28853). The first witness to give testimeny concerning HATA's actions as War Minister was former Premier Admiral YONAI. Before going into the actions of HATA as War Minister in the Yonai Cabinet, it is well to note what YONAI, whose cabinet, as well as YONAI himself, were so highly praised by Mr. Keenan when the Chief Prosecutor was cross-examined the accused KIDO, has to say with reference to the China Incident and HATA's lack of connection with it. (28917).

Ounto: "Then the Incident of the Marco Polo Bridge broke out on 7 July 1937, I was the Navy Minister in the First KONOYE Cabinet. Just at this time, General HATA was the Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Forces on the Island of Formosa (Taiwan) and, it is needless to say, that neither the forces in Formosa, nor General HATA had any connection with this

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incident, either in its beginning or later. It was not until February 1938 that General MATA first went to China when he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the Japanese Forces in Central China."

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With reference to the Tripartite Pact, during the life of this cabinet, YONAI says (28917):

"During the period from January 16, 1940

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to July 21, 1940, when I was the Prime Minister,
General HATA, Shunroku was the War Minister at the
time. With respect to the Tripartite Pact with the
Axis countries, my cabinet was completely opposed to

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it and for this reason this question did not even once come up in our cabinet conferences."

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On the next page (28918) YONAI states:

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"Coming to this question and to General HATA who was my "ar Minister, he carnestly cooperated with my cabinet's policy and, of course, naturally was op-

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posed to the pact."

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Next, the defense produced the witness ARITA, Hachiro, the Foreign Minister in the YONAI

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Cabinet, and he states (28945):

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"The YONAI Cabinet was opposed to the Tripartite Pact because we were opposed to any entanglements with Germany. Such being the case, the Tripartite

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Pact was never during the life of the YONAI Cabinet put

on the agenda for discussion by the ministers of the cabinet.

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"General MATA was the War Minister in the YONAI Cabinet and throughout his tenure of office he was in full accord with the policy of the cabinet and cooperated fully with it. In fact, I knew General HATA opposed the Tripartite Pact from the days it was being first discussed in Japan. When I was Foreign Minister in the MIRANUMA Cabinet, I had occasion to have an audience with the Emperor. While waiting to be received, I met General HATA, who was then aide-de-camp to His Majesty. We conversed informally and the subject of the Tripartite Pact came up. General HATA stated it appeared the Emperor objected to the proposed Pact and that he himself was strongly opposed to it. He made it clear to me that beside his personal opposition to any alliance with the Germans, he also opposed the pact on the grounds that he could see no benefit to Japan in signing a pact that would work against the interests of our country and which would antagonize the Anglo-Saxon countries."

Here then are the two most important members of the cabinet, the Prime Minister himself and the Foreign Minister, and they both state that MATA joined the rest of the cabinet in opposing the Tripartite Pact. The subject of the pact never came up for discussion by the ministers, and the lower level discussions revealed in the previously-mentioned prosecution exhibits 527 and 528 never reached the high level of discussion by the ministers in the YONAI Cabinet. Throughout the prosecution's case in chief, and during Mr. Keenan's above-mentioned cross-examination of KIDO, the YONAI-ARITA Cabinet and its policies were held up to the Tribunal as conservative, anti-war, and anti-Tripartite Pact. In fact, Mr. Tavenner in his lengthy opening address, in the prosecution's presentation of its Tripartite phase, praises the YONAI-ARITA Cabinet and its pro-Anglo-American policy. Mr. Tavenner stated (5,860), "In opposition to the YONAI-ARITA government's effort to reach an agreement with Britain and America, Germany endeavored to excite Japan's feeling toward America . . . " The YONAI and ARITA referred to by Mr. Tavenner are the same YOMAI and ARITA who came forward in HATA's incividual defense to state as just quoted above from their affidavits that HATA agreed with their policies and agreed fully with

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their cabinet and that its policy was not pro-German.

Mr Tavenner again repeats by stating on the same page,

". . . the German Ambassacor to Japan recommended to
his government the annexation of French-Indo China
by Japan on the grounds that it would increase the
chance for an early end of the China conflict, that
it would intensify the differences between Japan and
the Anglo-Saxon powers to such an extent that the
danger of agreement would be eliminated for a long time
and that it would result in a severe blow to the YONAI
Cabinet, and probably bring its replacement by a more
pro-German cabinet if the government should fail to act
in this matter."

Mr. Keenan, Chief of Counsel, revealed the presecution's evaluation of Admiral YONAI and the YONAI Cabinet during his cross-examination of the accused KIDO, as follows: (p. 31556)

"" YONAI opposed the military alliance with Germany and Italy?

"Q Lon't you know that YONAI emphatically opposed military alliance with Germany, Italy, and Japan?

"Q YONAI was known to you to be an exceedingly strong and even stubborn man, isn't that true?"
And on another day, Mr. Keenan, still

cross-examining the accused KIDO, and revealing the prosecution's high estimate of YONAI and the YONAI Cabinet, asked this question: (p. 31,351)

"Q I will remind you that you were Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal at the time of the fall of the YONAI Cabinet. The YONAI Cabinet was well known by you and others to be a cabinet devoted to peace, is that not true?

was against an alliance with Germany?"

opening accress on the prosecution's Tripartite piese and from the cross-examination by the Chief of Counsel to make amply clear what the prosecution's position on YONAI and the YONAI Cabinet has been throughout the trial. This, then, is the YONAI praised so highly by the prosecution, who testified for HATA before this Tribunal and who stubbornly and steadfastly insisted that HATA had supported his policies and the policies of his cabinet. These policies, as shown by the above quotes, were pro-Anglo-American and anti-Tripartite Pact. The prosecution had failed to produce as a witness before the Tribunal this man who had been a key figure during this critical time in Japanese political history. His testimony, on behalf of HATA, (and the

Tribunal will note that although YONAI had served in cabinets with several others of the accused here, he testified only for HATA) shows why the prosecution did not call him. They could not afford to, for although his testimony supports their contention that certain circles were in favor of the Tripartite Pact and wished to smash the YONAI Cabinet in order to achieve their aim, HATA was not one of this group. The prosecution's very thin case, based as it is on newspaper articles which this Tribunal has condemned as unworthy rvidence and extracts based on hearsay statements in KIDO's diary that HATA was pro-Tripartite Pact, would be exploded by YONAI's testimony. Not only that, but we also corrected another oversight on the part of the prosecution by producing ARITA, For eign Minister in the YONAI Cabinet, who also testified that HATA supported the YONAI Cabinet and its policies, and had been opposed to the Tripartite Pact since the days of the HIR NUMA Cabinet when ARITA was Foreign Minister, YONAI was Navy Minister, and HATA was Chief Aide-de-Camp to the Emperor.

The next witness to testify as to HATA's activities while War Minister was SAVADA, Shigeru. He testified as to HATA's actions with reference to the China Incident. He stated (p. 29,009):

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"The question was how was the incident to be settled? It was HATA's contention that the best way to secure peace with China was to reduce the strength of the Japanese troops in China. As his first step in this direction, he sought to decrease, in drawing up the army budget for the year 1940, the number of Japanese troops in China from 900,000 to 500,000. The General Staff was completely opposed to such an amount of reduction and said it was impossible. The matter was then taken up and discussed between the War Minister and the General Staff and eventually the number of troops was decreased to between 600,000 and 650,000."

Are these, then, the actions of a man who "worked on plans and preparations for aggressive war" while he was War Minister?

Next, we produced the witness TANAKA, Ryukichi, who was also the startwitness for the prosecution and was produced several times by them. He testified (p. 29,408):

"Q What, if you know, was the position of General HATA with reference to the proposed Tripartite Pact?

"A I know that General HATA was very strongly opposed to it. In fact, it was very well known in army circles that HATA strongly opposed the proposed

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Tripartite Pact."

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Later, General TANAKA, with reference to the China Incident and HATA's actions with reference thereto as War Minister, was questioned and answered as follows (p. 29,411):

"Q While HATA was War Minister and you were a section chief under him, do you know if General HATA took any action with reference to the China Incident?

"A Yes. In the fall of 1939 when HATA was 'er Minister in the ABE Cabinet, I began, under instructions from General HATA, negotiations with Chiang Kai-shok for a peaceful settlement of the China Incident. HATA told me that he wanted to bring about peace with China by the reduction and then the withdrawal of all Japanose troops from China. HATA told me that because of the opposition ground him to his plan, we would have to work under cover and unofficially. General HATA gave me two points on which to work. One was to arrange the dites and place for the two messengers, one from HATA and one from Chiang Kai-shek, to meet, and the second was that the basis of the peace treaty would be . the avacuation of all Japanese troops from China. HATA told me that while the negotiations were going on he would snow his good faith to the Chinese by reducing the Japanese troops in Caina from 900,000 to between

Minister, and I know that in his 1940 budget he did reduce the number of Japanese troops in China to approximately 600,000. However, there was great opposition from within the War Ministry and the General Staff to any withdrawal of Japanese troops from China. It was insisted that Japanese troops should be permanently kept in the Shenghai and North China areas. HATA opposed this. He stated that we must evacuate all troops from China. He stated that if we did not evacuate Japanese troops from China there would be absolutely no hope of concluding a peace treaty with Chiang Kai-shek. The necessary negotiations with Chiang Kai-shek were so secret that at first the preliminary steps had to be carried out with signal codes."

Thus the testimony of TANAKA confirms the evidence given by SAVADA with reference to HATA's actions while War Minister on the China Incident and the testimony of YCNAI and ARITA as to HATA's opposition to the Tripartite Pact. Surely, the prosecution after having used TANAKA for so much and so often to help them make out their own case will not try to impeach their star witness when he gives testimony on behalf of one of the accused, namely, HATA. It is highly significant that the prosecution did not even

attempt to cross-examine either SAWADA or TANAKA en
HATA's reduction of the Japanese troops in China by
cutting the army budget appropriations for the China
Incident. This was the only budget that HATA prepared
during the ten months that he was War Minister in the
ABE and YONAI Cabinets. His actions, while War Minister, speak far more elequently as to his position with
reference to the China Incident than any speech he
might have made publicly or any intentions he might have
expressed privately.

The prosecution, and the Tribunal, on occasion, have characterized as propaganda, speeches and writings offered as evidence by other accused when their actions while in office belied those speeches or writings. Here, we have offered the best kind of evidence, namely, action taken by HATA while in office and the evidence given by two people who should know, namely, SAWADA, Vice-Chief of the General Staff at the time, and TANAKA, Section Chief of the Military Service Bureau in the War Ministry at the time, and the testimony of both, we repeat, went absolutely unchallenged by the prosecution.

Surely, such action was not the action of a man who "worked on plans and preparations for aggressive war," while he was War Minister. As we revealed, while reviewing all the exhibits above which the prosecution claims show that HATA "worked on plans and preparations for aggressive war" while War Minister, the prosecution's evidence on this second point, are negative in nature; not one of them directly connects HATA as a member of any conspiracy, if indeed a conspiracy existed; not one of them showed that HATA in any wise forwarded the plans of any such alleged conspiracy; not one of them shows HATA as favoring any new aggressive war. It must be remembered, too, that at the time HATA was War Minister, the China Incident was already three years old, and the Pacific war did not begin until the end of 1941. If, by saying that HATA "worked on plans and preparations for aggressive war" the prosecution means the China Incident, HATA's actions in reducing the army budget lay at rest that contention. Anything he may have said publicly in support of the policies of the YONAI Cabinet could not. by any stretch of the imagination, be called "working on plans and preparations for aggressive war" since, as we have shown by quotes from Mr. Tavenner and Mr. Keenan, the prosecution rightly believes the YONAI Cabinet a peace cabinet. If, by working on "plans and preparations

for aggressive war" while War Minister, the prosecution means the war which broke out later, namely the Pacific War, we again state that none of the exhibits above referred to even remotely connect HATA with any such plans and preparations. In this instance we can go one step further and give positive evidence and again, as before, uncontroverted evidence that HATA unequivocably showed he was opposed to any war, or talk of war, with the Western Powers.

We refer the Tribunal to the testimony of TANAKA, Ryukichi (p. 29,410):

"A Yes, in 1939 when General HATA learned that a certain colonel made a speech in Sendai attacking the United States and England, saying, 'Down with those countries,' he became indignant and ordered me to have that officer brought back to Tokyo. When I had him brought back to Tokyo, General HATA reprimanded him and then transferred him to an outlying post as punishment."

The witness, OIKAWA (p. 29,004) who was Navy Minister in the Second and Third KONOYE Cabinets testified:

"In or about September, 1941, Lieutenant
General USHIROGU, Chief of Staff of the China Expeditionary Forces, called upon me at the Navy Minister's office
as a messenger dispatched from General HATA, Shunroku,

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the Commander in Chief of the China Expeditionary Forces, with the following message from General HATA:

"'Recently, relations between America and Japan have been deteriorating. America is opposed to Japan's stationing her troops in China. I believe that in order to avoid a clash with America, we must withdraw all our troops from China. I heartily request you to do your utmost as Navy Minister to prevent a conflict between America and Japan.'"

There was no cross-examination by the prosecution of this witness in this all-important testimony.

The witness TANAKA confirmed OIKAWA's testimony on this point (p. 29,413):

"Ly After General HATA became Commander of the Japanese Forces in China while you were still a Bureau Chief in the War Ministry, do you know of any statements made or any actions taken by General HATA with reference to the Pacific War?

"A Yes. In September, 1941, when General HATA was Commander in China and when relations between America and Japan were steadily deteriorating, General HATA sent his Chief of Staff, Lieutenant General USHIROGU. to Tokyo to see me and tell me that he, HATA, wanted to withdraw all Japanese troops from China in order to avoid a war with America. HATA asked me to help pass

this plan of his in the War Ministry.

"4 Then what happened?

"A After General USHIROGU had seen them, he came and told me the answers he received from each of these men, before he left for China again to report to General HATA."

To summarize Point 2, that HATA "as Minister of War in the ABY and YONAI Cabinets, he helped to determine the national policy and worked on plans and preparations for aggressive war during that period," the prosecution's evidence which we have reviewed utterly fails to sustain the prosecution's contention. On the other hand, the defense evidence offered by YCNAI and ARITA shows HATA opposed the Tripartite Pact from as far back as 1938, had supported the YONAI Cabinet and its policies, which cabinet and policies, as the quotes from Mr. Tavenner and Mr. Keenan show, the prosecution has held up as pro-peace, pro-Anglo-American and Anti-Tripartite Pact. Over and beyond that, HATA took positive steps to bring about peace with China, and implemented and supported his peace overtures to China with a reduction in the Japanese Army budget for the China Incident bringing down the Japanese Army strength in China from 900,000 to approximately 600,000, and this, as TANAKA and SAWADA tell us, in the face of the strenuous

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opposition of the General Staff in Tokyo. Far from promoting plans for aggressive war in the Pacific, he censured and punished a Japanese colonel who had ranted against England and America, and even after he had left the War Ministry and was in China, far removed from the Tokyo scene and utterly without policy-making power, he had sent his Chief of Staff urging that, in order to avoid a war in the Pacific, Japan should withdraw all its troops from China. While War Minister he had advocated the withdrawal of all Japanese troops from China, so his position in this respect was consistent throughout. Surely these actions overwhelm any contention or inferences which the prosecution may seek to draw from the negative type of testimony on which it relies and which we have previously reviewed, to sustain its point that HATA "worked on plans and preparations for aggressive war" while War Minister.

We now turn our attention to the prosecution's third point, "that he was one of the prime movers in the overthrow of the YONAI Cabinet, thus giving new direction and expansion to the entire conspiracy." This third point presupposes that a conspiracy existed, and that the most certain thing in this entire trial, next to the unchallenged fact that a war did take place, is that the prosecution has completely and totally failed to establish

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the existence of a conspiracy. Here there is no "Mein kampf," no Fuhrer, no single party, no relentless direction, no pattern. The question of conspiracy is treated fully elsewhere in the defense summations, and we adopt that argument. Our interest in this particular summation is with the acts of HATA while War Minister. It is the only position of a policy-making level which HATA ever held, and it is the only opportunity HATA ever had of joining the conspiracy, if such ever existed, or showing that he knew a conspiracy existed and was a member of it. We maintain that all the evidence adduced under Point 2 absolutely fails to show that HATA was a member consciously, or unconsciously of any conspiracy.

To begin with, HATA became War Minister, not because he belonged to, or was a member of any military clique, or member of any conspiracy. He did not become War Minister because any of the accused in the dock nominated him to be War Minister. He became War Minister in the ABE Cabinet in spite of, not because of, the actions of the Three Chiefs who, except in this instance, invariably nominate the new War Minister. When the HIMANUMA Cabinet fell and the ABE Cabinet came into being the Three Chiefs named General TADA to be War Minister. The Emperor disapproved and ordered that HATA be given the post. On this point General TANAKA testified

(p. 29,409):

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"Q Do you know if there were any other reasons why the army opposed General HATA as strongly as you say you know they did?

"A Yes, there were several reasons. The hatred and dislike of General HATA persisted from the day when he first supported the readjustment plan of the army when General UGARI was War Minister and increased when he became War Minister in the ABE Cabinet, which cabinet preceded the YONAI Cabinet. Two incidents served to heighten the hatred and dislike for HATA. The first was that another man had been recommended by the Three Chiefs' Council to be War Minister in the ABE Cabinet but the Emperor ordered that HATA should become the War Minister and the post was given to General HATA."

Further, on this point, during Mr. Keenan's cross-examination of the accused KIDO, this evidence came out (p. 31,339):

"Q And the Emperor did recommend the appointment to be UNEZU or HATA, and he got General HATA, didn't he?

"A Yes.

"C And HATA at that time was his Chief Aidede-Camp?

"A Yes.

"Q So that it was quite apparent there was a good deal of personal choice involved in that appointment?

"A Yes."

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This, then, was how HATA became War Minister. The Emperor himself interceded to make HATA War Minister. Throughout the trial, the prosecution has made it pollucid that it absolved the Emperor of all complicity in the alleged conspiracy. In his now famous colloquy with the President of this Tribunal, Mr. Keenan made it crystal clear that he did not hold the Emperor responsible for or implicated in the actions which led to the war. The chief prosecutor's examination of KIDO and TOJO further amplifies the prosecution's stand on this point. Here, then, is the action of the Emperor who has been absolved of guilt directly intervening in the affair of state to reject the regularly-nominated War Minister and to order the appointment of his own personal choice, General HATA, who at that time was his Chief Aide-de-Camp. It is apparent, then, that HATA had the full confidence of the Emperor and was prepared to carry out the Emperor's policies as long as he served as War Minister. The prosecution cannot contend that HATA was a conspirate: or an advocate of war or an advocate of the Triparte Pact because HATA became War Minister on orders from the man

absolved of all criminality by the prosecution. be the position of the prosecution that HATA was not a conspirator because of his appointment by the Emperor for, as we have seen earlier, the prosecution seeks to make HATA's approval of MUTO and TOJO to their respective positions in the War Ministry a criminal act or an act in furtherance of the conspiracy. If HATA's approval of this appointment of TOJO and MUTO was the act of a conspirator because TOJO and MUTO today stand accused before this Tribunal, then similarly the prosecution must contend that the Emperor because of his intervention to make HATA, who today stands accused before this Tribunal, War Minister, also committed a criminal act or joined and furthered the alleged conspiracy. Since they do not contend that the Emperor, by making HATA War Minister, committed such a crime but on the contrary they exculpate him of complicity, the only conclusion is that HATA was not, and could not be stated to be, a member of the conspiracy.

Our contention that HATA opposed the Tripartite Pact now receives additional support when it is remembered that ARITA stated (p. 28,945):

"In fact, I know General HATA opposed the Tripartite Pact from the days it was being first discussed in Japan. When I was Foreign Minister in the HIRANUMA

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Cabinet, I had occasion to have an audience with the Emperor. While waiting to be received, I met General HATA, who was then Aide-de-Camp to His Majesty. We conversed informally and the subject of the Tripartite Pact came up. General HATA stated it appeared the Emperor objected to the proposed pact and that he himself was strongly opposed to it."

In the latter stages of the individual defense presentations before the Tribunal, ample evidence came out that the Emperor opposed the Tripartite Pact and was dismayed when MATSUCV: signed it in September of 1940. Here, by ARITA's statement, which is unchallenged, HATA, then Chief Aide-de-Camp to the Emperor, told ARITA that the Emperor opposed the Pact. Is it at all possible to believe that the Emperor would insist on making War Minister, in that critical period when the Tripartite Pact was being considered, a man who would be in favor of the Tripartite Pact when the Emperor himself opposed it? For HAT. to know that the Emperor opposed the Pact, he and the Emperor must have discussed it, and the Emperor must have known that HATA also opposed the Pact and would carry out the Emperor's wishes in opposing the Pact as long as he was War Minister. It is inescapable that the Emperor, conclusively established as opposing the Pact from its beginning, would only appoint a War

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Minister who was also opposed to the Tripartite Pact.

That HATA adhered to his anti-Tripartite position is proved conclusively by the following: Not once during the ABI Cabinet did the Tripartite Pact come up. No evidence has been introduced by either side that the ABI Cabinet ever discussed the Tripartite Pact. Since it was the army that favored the Tripartite Pact, the support in the Cabinet for the Tripartite Pact would have come from the one man in the Cabinet to whom the army could give orders -- HATA, the War Minister. As we have just stated, the question of the Pact was never broached during this Cabinet.

Now we come to the critical YONAI Cabinet. The two men who could tell the Tribunal what was done about the Tripartite Pact in this Cabinet, YONAI and ARITA, were not produced by the prosecution, but by the defense, because of course, while their testimony would help the prosecution's over-all picture that the army wanted the Tripartite Pact, it would explode the prosecution's contention that HATA also supported the Tripartite Pact and was responsible because of this feeling for the Tripartite Pact, for the wrecking of the YONAI Cabinet. YONAI stated: (p. 28,917):

"With respect to the Tripartite Pact with the Axis countries, my Cabinet was completely opposed to it

and for this reason this question did not even once come up in our Cabinet conferences. Coming to this question and to General HATA who was my War Minister, he warnestly co-operated with my Cabinet's policy and, of course, naturally was opposed to the Pact."

ARITA stated (p. 28,945):

"The YONAI Cabinet was opposed to the Tripartite Pact because we were opposed to any entanglements with Germany. Such being the case, the Tripartite Pact was never during the life of the YONAI Cabinet put on the agenda for discussion by the Ministers of the Cabinet. General HATA was the War Minister in the YONAI Cabinet and throughout his tenure of office he was in full accord with the policy of the Cabinet and co-operated fully with it."

The testimony of ARITA was not challenged on this point, but the prosecution did try to impeach Admiral YONAI through a newspaper article which purported to give a different version of the breakup of the YONAI Cabinet. We will not discourse on the value of newspaper articles. The Tribunal has on many occasions properly characterized their value as evidence. The Tribunal will not forget the persistence with which Admiral YONAI denied that the newspaper article gave a true account of the fall of the YONAI Cabinet. The prosecution also sought to impeach Admiral YONAI by means of a certain interrogation taken by some Russian officer before this trial began. Again Admiral YO. AI denied fully and completely that he ever gave the answers or made the statements imputed to him. Admiral YOWAI was testifying before the Tribunal under oath and subject to cross-examination, whereas the newspaper article and the alleged interrogation had no such virtues. If the prosecution placed any faith in either of these two items, why did it not offer them in its case in chief against HATA? If the prosecution thought these items were true accounts, why did it now show these items to YONAI and ask him to testify in accordance therewith? As a matter of fect, the prosecution had served upon us an affidavit

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by YONAI and had intended to use him as a witness until it must have realized that upon our cross-examination of YONAI, HATA would have been completely absolved of any responsibility for the wrecking of the YONAI Cabinet.

It will be noted that the prosecution did not challenge the statements of YONAI and ARITA that the Tripertite Pact was never discussed by the ministers at any of the cabinet meetings. How, then, since HATA was War Minister in both the ABE and YONAI Cabinets which never discussed the Tripertite Pact on a cabinet level, can the prosecution contend that HATA supported the Tripertite Pact? If, indeed, he were a supporter of the Pact, would he not have broached it at least once during the more than ten months he was War Minister in the two cabinets?

In the preceding HIRANUMA Cabinet, where the Pact had adherents, it was constantly discussed. In the succeeding 2nd KONOYE Cabinet, it was discussed and soon signed. How, in the face of this silence on the Pact in the two cabinets in which HATA was War Minister, can the prosecution contend HATA supported the Pact? How can the prosecution in one breath exculpate the Emperor but in the next breath state that the Emperor's own personal appointee as War Minister

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was a supporter of the Tripartite Pact? Finally, where is there even one quote from any statement by HATA before he become War Minister, while he was War Minister and after he was Minister to indicate his support of the Pact? The prosecution relies only on inferences, conclusions, newspaper articles which it didn't dare offer in its case in chief, interrogations which YOWAI on the stand and under oath stated did ont contain his correct answers, and diary excerpts 10 based on hearsey. We rely not on negative evidence 11 but on direct evidence of SAWADA, TANAKA, ARITA and 12 YONAI and OIKAWA. The prosecution produced not one 13 witness against HATA in this entire trial, not one 14 witness to accuse him of wrongful acts in the YONAI 15 Cabinet. Surely, the Tribunal will note the difference in value of the testimony offered by the prosecution 16 and by the defense with reference to HATA's part in 17 the downfall of the YONAI Cabinet. 19

To continue with the prosecution's Third Point, namely, that HATA was "a prime mover" ir. the downfall of the YONAI Cabinet, let us analyze the evidence offered on this point by both the prosecution 24 and the defense and see whether HATA deliberately 25 overthrew the YONAI Cabinet, or whether HATA himself was overthrown along with the YONAI Cabinet because

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he was a supporter of the YONAI Cabinet and not, as the prosecution contends, a mortal enemy of the cabinet and its policies.

Here, again, we are feeed with the fact that there is nowhere any official record produced by either side, of a speech or an address by HATA. We, therefore, must examine the circumstances surrounding the downfall of the YONAI Cabinet and the testimony under oath before the Tribunal, of the people who knew best these circumstances because they were members of the cabinet itself, or held positions subordinate to or superior to HATA in the army and the War Ministry.

The prosecution, as shown by Mr. Comyns 14 Carr's answer to our motion for dismissal, relies entirely (page 16,830-1) on prosecution exhibit No 532, a lengthy excerpt from KIDO's Diary. As we shall 17 18 see in a moment when we analyze this exhibit, all of 19 KIDO's information contained in this exhibit is 20 hearsay. On the other hand, the defense evidence on 21 this point contains no hearsay, but is encompassed 22 in the direct testimony under oath before the Tribunal by the Prime Minister, and the Foreign Minister of that Cabinet, YONAI and ARITA, SAWADA Shigeru, Vice-Chief of the General Staff, and TANAKA, the prosecution's star witness and a section chief in the War Ministry at that time.

Admiral YONAI stated (page 28,918):

"And so, as my cabinet opposed and excluded such a pact with Germany and also because it was not pro-German, a desire to overthrow my cabinet came into being. Those who opposed my cabinet were endeavoring to kill two birds with one stone; that is, to have General HATA, who was opposed to the Tripartite Pact, resign from the government and simultaneously to overthrow the cabinet. Eventually, their plan was carried out and their objective was obtained -- two birds killed with one stone. When General HATA resigned I believed and felt that his resignation was not of his own free will, but that he was forced to resign by elements he was powerless to fight and today I am more convinced than ever that my beliefs then were correct."

Here is a positive unequivocal statement
by the one man who should know whether HATA deliberately
overthrew his cabinet. He and his cabinet as we have
shown from quotes by Mr. Tavenner and Mr. Keenan,
were praised both before and after YONAI's appearance
on the stand before this Tribunal? Mr. Sutton sought
to destroy this testimony by cross-examining Admiral

YONAI on a newspaper article which purported to contain a quote from a note HATA is alleged to have written YONAI before HATA's resignation. The note contained the words "...how about deciding to have the cabinet resign?" (page 28,932). Therepfter, for eleven pages of cross-examination Admiral YONAI stoutly insisted that no such note had ever been received from HATA and the cross-examination ended as follows: (page 28,941) "Q Do you now say, Admiral, that you did not receive any note from General HATA in July prior to his resignation? "A Yes, I still insist that I did not receive it. "Q Do you recall a conversation with a member of the cabinet secretariat on 3 June 1946 relative to the receipt by you in July, 1940, of a note from General HATA? "A Did you say 1946? "Q I beg your pardon; June 3, 1947. I said '6' by error. "A There was nothing of the kind this year. "Q Did you not in that conversation with a member of the cabinet secretarist on June 3, 1947, say that General HATA delivered to you a note of this

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purport?

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"A No, I didn't say enything of the kind.
"Q And did you not also say that you

returned the note to General HATA on that occasion

"A No recollection of it at all.

"Q Admirel, had you received a note of the purport of the one which you reed from the Asehi Shimbun from your War Minister, would it not have indicated that HATA was intending to destroy your cabinet?"

After objection by the defense, the witness was ordered to answer the question (page 28,943). His enswer was:

"A No, I deny that. There was nothing of the end.

"Q And do you tell the Tribunal that a note of this importance from the War Minister to the Prime Minister, which was published in the leading Tokyo newspaper of that day, with a direct quotation of the note in the newspaper, has never been brought to your attention until today?

"A That is right, I have never received it."

First, with reference to this newspaper

article, we point to the wording of the alleged note.

"...how about deciding to have the cabinet resign?" The

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very wording itself is ridiculous. Here is a War 1 Minister in a crimet of one of the world's leading nations writing to the Prime Minister of that cabinet. a man then holding one of the most powerful positions in the world, and preparing, the prosecution would have us believe, to destroy the cabinet. A men in such a position, writing on such a serious subject, the prosecution would have us believe, would write to the Prime Minister the same way that a love-struck high school boy would send a note to the girl in the next aisle asking "How about deciding to have a date tonight?" 11 It is inconceivable that a full General would write 13 to his country's Prime Minister on so serious a matter as the destruction of a national government in so 15 sophomoric a manner. Clearly, the Tribunal's consistent 16 position that newspaper articles have no value as 17 evidence is borne out in this case.

Now as to YONAI himself. If, indeed, HATA had sent this note to him, and then had proceeded to destroy the YONAI Cabinet, what earthly reason would YONAI have for appearing before this Tribunal and stating again and again, even at the expense of being chided by the President of this Tribunal, that HATA had never sent such a note to him? And why would he insist that HATA "was forced to resign by

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elements he was powerless to fight, and today I am more convinced than ever that my beliefs then were correct"? !hat earthly reason would this man have for taking the stand in behalf of HATA, if HATA, as the prosecution contends, wrecked his cabinet? YONAI is a free man, he has not been, or is he now in Sugamo to be tried in the future for war crimes. He was under no obligation of any nature whatsoever, to HATA. He testified voluntarily for HATA and, although he was a member of four other cabinets as Navy Minister, and was associated with many other accused in the dock before this Tribunal, he testified only for HATA. There can be no question, whatsoever, that YONAI is telling the absolute truth in this case that HATA never sent him such a note and that HATA did not resign voluntarily from the YONAI Cabinet.

remind the Tribunal of the prosecution's oft-repeated allegation that the press was controlled by certain powerful circles in Japan. Shortly, we shall show the Tribunal a clear connection among this untruthful article in the controlled Japanese press, the people who forced HATA to resign as War Minister, and the people whom KIDO quotes in his diary and on which the prosecution relies entirely as exhibit 532 to prove

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its point that HATA wilfully destroyed the YONAI Cabinet.

YONAI's testimony, in itself wholly credible, we submit, receives corroboration and support in the testimony of our next three witnesses. ARITA, Foreign Minister in the YONAI Cabinet, testified: (28,946

"When HATA resigned as War Minister in the YONAI Cabinet, I believed there must have been some strong reason that forced him to resign his portfolio. The cooperative attitude then taken by HATA in the YONAI Cabinet leads me to believe, even today, that his resignation was against his will".

The next witness SAWADA, Shigeru, Vice-Chief of the Imperial General Staff (29,017):

"The intention of overthrowing the YONAI Cabinet and the plan to effect peace by using Germany was predominant in the army. Besides, War Minister, H.TA was one of the supporters of the YONAI Cabinet policy. Hence, the concensus of opinion in military cirlces was that HATA was not useful in accelerating the attempts at closer ties with Germany and the subsequent use of the power of Germany to effect peace with China and that he lacked the desire to do so and a change in War Ministers was being strongly urged.

Indeed, this concensus of opinion of military circles was reflected in the decision of the General Staff and this decision..."

Here again, then, there is competent testimony by the Vice-Chief of the General Staff, who should know, because he played such a vital role in the downfall of the YONAI Cabinet that "HATA was one of the supporters of the YONAI Cabinet policy".

THE PRESIDENT: We will adjourn until halfpast one.

(Thereupon, at 1200, a recess was taken.)

Kapieau & Yelden

## AFTERNOON SESSION

The Tribunal met, pursuant to recess, at 1330.

MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International

Military Tribunal for the Far East is now resumed.

THE PRESIDENT: Mr. Lazarus. .

MR. LAZARUS: If the Tribunal please, I have during the recess stricken the portions which referred to exhibits or parts of exhibits which were not read into the record. Would the Tribunal like to go through those parts now and let me notify the Tribunal?

THE PRESIDENT: Omit them when you come to them, Mr. Lazarus.

MR. LAZARUS: The bottom of page 53, if the Tribunal please:

Now let us proceed to examine why HATA resigned as War Minister. SAWADA testified (29,010):

"It was the ardent desire of Prince KANIN, Chief of the General Staff to attain a solution of the Incident through use of Germany and it was about the beginning of July 1940 that he told me that he intended to accelerate peace with China through the mediation of Germany and that he intended to use the War Minister to break the deadlock between the army and the cabinet. So, he ordered me to consult with the officials in the

War Ministry, with these ends in view. Accordingly, I called on the Vice-Minister of War, Lieutenant General ANAMI, and we discussed the matter between the two of us. The Vice-Minister said finally that as long as the Chief of Staff did not modify his view of using Germany to accelerate peace with China, there was no alternative but to change the present cabinet, that in view of the character of the present cabinet, it was impossible to comply with the Chief of Staff's objective even if some changes were made among its members. When I asked the Vice-Minister if that was also the opinion of the War Minister, he informed me that that was not the opinion of General HATA, but it was the opinion of the Vice-Minister and the men below him in the War Ministry. I pointed out that the matter was of extreme importance as the opinion of the army in general and that of the cabinet were in opposition to each other and that we had better meet again after I had once more consulted with the Chief of the General Staff, and then I parted with him.

"The Chief of Staff, having heard my report stated that since his opinion represented that of the majority of the army and that since according to the Vice-Minister there was no other way but a change of

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cabinet, we must do our utmost to follow that method and that he was truly sorry for the War Minister that such an extreme measure had to be taken, but one must bear this for the good of the country in such a vital national affair. I again called on the Vice-Minister, stated the decision of the Chief of the General Staff and learned that ANAMI had not changed his views since our previous meeting. Some days later, by the orders of Prince KANIN, I wrote a letter which in substance stated as follows:"

Here, the prosecution, which has relied all along in the case against General HATA on hearsay evidence in excerpts from KIDO's Diary, and a newspaper article which was branded as untruthful by YONAI, an alleged conversation with some unknown member of the cabinet secretariat in 1947 which was also denied by YONAI, an interrogation which YONAI stated did not contain his true answers, took advantage of a very, very technical rule of evidence and objected to our reading the contents of the letter, although the author himself of that letter was about to testify as to its contents. Third and fourth-hand hearsay has been offered by the prosecution and has been accepted by the Tribunal, but here the author of a most important letter could not testify as to the

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contents of that letter, when that letter was allimportant for the explanation of HATA's resignation
as War Minister in the YONAI Cabinet. The defense
did all in its power, all that it was humanly possible
to do in the circumstances to secure the admission of
the contents of that letter. We caused to be made a
thorough search in the War Ministry files for the
letter and introduced the following certificate of
the First Demobilization Bureau (29,402):

"I am the Section Chief of Documents in the First Demobilization Bureau and hereby certify that after searching for the letter which was sent in July 1940 from Chief of General Staff, Prince KANIN, to War Minister HATA, Shunroku, it could not be found in the files of the First Demobilization Bureau.

"Date, 23 September 1947, at Tokyo.

"Signed, MIYAMA, Yozo."

The Demobilization Bureau as successor to the War Ministry was the proper custodian of that letter. There is ample evidence in the record that many of its files were destroyed in the great fire raids.

In the hopes that the letter might be found among the personal effects of General HATA, and in order to check into every possible place where the

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letter could be, we caused a thorough search to be made of the home and the personal files of General HATA, and introduced the affidavit of Dr. KANZAKI, Japanese counsel, and introduced his affidavit (29,403):

"In order to obtain the letter which was sent from the Chief of General Staff, Prince KANIN, to War Minister HATA, Shunroku, in July 1940, I, since spring 1946, have requested the First Demobilization Bureau to take all measures possible to search for the letter but it could not be discovered. Further, with the assistance of Mrs. HATA and her son Shunpachi, I have searched HATA, Shunroku's house with the utmost of my power several times, but I could not discover it."

With this, we had done all we could do in our search for the letter, but still the prosecution was successful in keeping out this direct testimony, although the prosecution itself was relying on the rankest kind of hearsay evidence which would never have been accepted in any regular court.

THE PRESIDENT: What do you mean by regular court?

MR. LAZARUS: National court.

THE PRESIDENT: You had better change that

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o "national."
           MR. LAZARUS: It should be "national."
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 2am sorry.
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           SAWADA continues: (29,016)
           "Some days later, by the orders of Prince
 ** ** ANIN, I wrote a letter. . . " "The letter was
  ealed and signed by Prince KANIN and he ordered me
  o deliver it to War Minister HATA. I did so.
  his way, General HATA received the letter and I am
  not quite sure but it might be the fellowing day or
  the day after that General HATA submitted his resigna-
12 tion, and then the YONAI Cabinet resigned en bloc.
           "H.I.H. Prince KANIN, besides being the
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14Chief of the General Staff, was a member of the
15 Emperor's Household and a father of the Army in age,
16 rank, experience, etc., and it was quite natural that
17 General HATA, although War Minister, nevertheless, as
18 a loyal subject of the Emperor, was compelled to obey
19 his string demand."
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           Here, then, is why and how HATA resigned.
  TATA, having been appointed War Minister by direction
  of the Emperor, had faithfully, according to all
credible testimony, supported the YONAI Cabinet and
  ts anti-tripartite policy. The Chief of the Imperial
  General Staff was HATA's superior and, upon receipt
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of a letter from him, delivered by the Vice-Chief of the Imperial General Staff, HATA resigned. As SAWADA says: "General HATA, although War Minister, nevertheless as a loyal subject of the Emperor was compelled to obey his strong demand."

It will be noted that the man in the War Ministry who worked to bring about HATA's enforced resignation through orders by the Chief of the Imperial General Staff was ANAMI, the Vice-Minister. Of him, we shall have more to say shortly. Here is I unequivocal testimony that HATA was not a member of the gang which was seeking to smash the YONAI Cabinet. It states clearly that the need for a change in cabinets was not the opinion of General HATA. And the Chief of the General Staff "was truly sorry for the War Minister that such an extreme measure had to be taken. . . " If HATA had been a member of the clique which sought to overthrow the cabinet, all these conferences between the Vice-Chief of the General Staff and the Vice War Minister would not have been necessary. That it was ANANI who played the leading role, and that HATA was not privy to these machinations that SAWADA's testimony revealed is corroborated by TANAKA (29,409). Re states:

"On the 14th of Tebruary 1945, I met General

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ANAMI and at that time he told me that he regretted very much the part he had played in opposing General HATA and in bringing about the resignation of General HATA as War Minister in the YONAI Cabinet and he also told me the details of the opposition within the War Ministry against General HATA. General ANAMI had been Vice-Minister of War under General HATA in the YONAI

Now let us examine the one document on which the prosecution relies to prove its point that HATA was a prime mover in the downfall of the YONAI Cabinet. The exhibit 532 is a series of excerpts from KIDO's Diary immediately preceding and following the downfall of the YONAI Cabinet. KIDO quotes Vice-Minister of War ANAMI as follows: (6,243)

"Now when a political change may be unavoidable within the next four or five days, and the military have been perfecting preparations to meet the abrupt changes in the latest world situation, the character of the YONAI Cabinet is not at all suitable for making negotiations with Germany and Italy and it might even cause a fatal delay. The conclusion is that a cabinet change is inevitable in order to face this grave situation. The army unanimously will support Prince KONOYE's candidacy. Upon meeting Prince KONOYE

Cabinet."

after his return to Tokyo, the War Minister will take the opportunity to submit an important proposal to Premier YONAI."

We see, then, that as early as 8 July,

ANAMI was stating that "the YONAI Cabinet was not at
all suitable" and "that a cabinet change is inevitable." He states at the end that the War Minister
will make an important proposal to the Premier. This,
undoubtedly, refers to the note that the anti-YONAI
clique was intending to have HATA submit to YONAI
and which, through their control of the press, they
apparently purlished that HATA did send it to YONAI.
This is the note that YONAI denies flatly HATA ever
sent him. The machinations of this clique become
clearer as we go on.

on the same date, 8 July, and in the same exhibit, KIDO then quotes the Chief Aide-de-Camp (6,243):

"In the army general staff office in recent days, the officers forming the central core have presented their opinions to the leading staff members from the viewpoints of both political and military policies, as they anticipate that the personnel of the present government will never be able to sufficiently cope with the latest world situation. As a

result, it is understood that the Chief of the Army
General Staff, Prince KANIN, told the War Minister
about the matter, and the War Minister has been much
concerned about what measures to take. Such being
the case, the expression of resolute determination by
the War Minister may well depend upon the behavior of

the cabinet itself. And so on . . . "

Staff dissatisfaction with the YONAI Cabinet, and the Chief of the General Staff KANIN speaks to the War Minister about it, "and the War Minister has been much concerned about what measures to take." Does that sound take a willingness, a desire, an intention on the part of HATA to destroy the YONAI Cabinet? On the contrary, it seems the other way around, else why should HATA be concerned when the Chief of the General Staff tells him of the General Staff's lack of satisfaction with the YONAI Cabinet? If HATA were prepared to overthrow the YONAI Cabinet this excerpt would read that the War Minister egreed with the Chief of the General Staff instead of "the War Minister has been

Under date of 16 July in the same exhibit,

KIDO quotes Chief Cabinet Secretary ISHIWATA (6,244):

much concerned."

9:00 a.m. this morning and submitted his resignation.
When told by the Premier to produce a successor, he replied that an answer may be expected by evening and left. As the army cannot be expected to produce a successor, the Premier, after calling an extraordinary cabinet meeting today, will probably have to go to the Hayama Imperial villa to submit a mass resignation."

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There is no refusal here, as the prosecution claims, by HATA to name a successor. Had HATA been privy to the plans to destroy the YONAI Cabinet and had he resigned deliberately in order to overthrow the YONAI Cabinet, he would promptly have told the Premier that no one would be appointed to succeed himself, but instead HATA told YONAI that "an answer may be expected by evening." The letter from KANIN, ordering HATA to resign, had come swiftly and suddenly, and HATA could not know whether a new War Minister who would support in the cabinet the army's desire for the Tripartite Pact would be named. HATA, it must be remembered, would be only one of the Three Chiefs who would name the new War Minister, one of the other three being the Chief of the General Staff, Prince KANIN, who had ordered HATA to resign in order to bring about the downfall of the YONAI Cabinet.

Even the Chief Cabinet Secretary, realizing

the situation, states that the army "cannot be expected to produce a successor." On the same date, and in the same exhibit, KIDO records Vice-Minister ANAMI (6,246) as having told the Chief Aide-de-Camp as follows:

"Received a phone call from Vice-Minister

ANAM! of the War Ministry, according to whom the state
of effairs leading to the (War) Minister's resignation,
is as follows: Several days ago a memorandum containing the army's opinion on the present situation was
submitted to the Premier, who summoned the War Minister
than morning and delling him that the army's idea was
different from that of the present cabinet, asked him
bluntly to resign in case of inconvenience. Thereupon
the War Minister at once submitted his resignation.
As the Premier further asked him to recommend his
successor, the Three Chief officers' meeting was held
from 2:30 p.m. but because of the foregoing situation
it was extremely difficult to make any recommendation."

Here, at last, we get some inkling as to the note allegedly sent by HATA to YONAI and it is more than likely "the important proposal" that ANAMI referred to previously in this same exhibit. Now we see that it was "a memorandum containing the army's opinion" which had been submitted to the Prime Minister

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several days previously and, since this is the 16th 1 day of July, that would place it around the 12th day of July, the day the note was allegedly sent by HATA. It does not state here that HATA sent the memorandum to YCNAI. It says the memorandum "was submitted." ANAMI, who is a leading member of the clique, which is an the process of overthrowing the YONAI Cabinet, continues giving his version of the event, and states tnat YONAI asked HATA to resign. This, if the Trabunal please, is the prosecution's own evidence that YONAI "asked him (HATA) bluntly to resign." And yet in Point Three which we are now discussing, the prosecution contends that HATA resigned in order to overthrow the YONAI Cabinet and then deliberately redused to name a successor. This is, indeed, a pretty case of blowing hot and blowing cold. The prosecution, of course, although it has introduced evidence that HATA resigned of his own volition and in the very same exhibit that HATA had been ordered to resign by the Prime Minister himself, chose the story which it felt was most harmful to HATA. Continuing the same date and the same exhibit (6,247), KIDO states:

"Premier YONAI came to Hayama from Tokyo at

6:40 p.m. and explained the details of the resignation

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en bloc. It was about as I have set it down. As a result of the conference of the Three Chiefs, it was said that although the selection of a successor was not being refused, it was difficult to choose one and no forecast was possible."

"Premier YONAI in announcing to the Cabinet his decision in favor of a resignation en bloc did not as was usual in the past call each minister separately to his room and talk to him. Instead he assembled all the members in the cabinet meeting room and stating first that this was not a cabinet meeting, expressed his decision. At this, War Minister HATA scowled, but stood up and made a speech. That is the story."

Here, again the prosecution, with its own exhibit, contradicts one of its own main contentions against HATA. The prosecution has contended that HATA refused to name a successor as War Minister in the YONAI Cabinet, yet here in this prosecution exhibit it is stated "the selection of a successor was not being refused"!

Now let us see what YONAI had to say about the selection of a successor (28,919). YONAI confirms the above-quoted statement from KIDO's Diary that "the selection of a successor was not being refused" and that "it was difficult to choose one":

"I asked HATA to recommend someone to be the next War Minister. HATA immediately went out saying that the successor would be decided in the Three Chief's Conference. This Conference was composed of the Chief of Staff, the Inspector General of Military Education, and the War Minister. It was their duty to name the new War Minister. He returned in the evening looking very worried and said there was no man who would be the successor to the post. His face looked very pensive because he was conscious that this lack of the successor would become the cause of the fall of the cabinet -- consequently he himself would be this cause. I read this feeling in his face, and after the general resignation of the cabinet, called HATA to my room and said, as nearly as I can remember: 'I can understand your situation -- you have suffered very much. As for me, however, I do not blame you at all. I understand. Take it easy and do not worry.' I shook his hand and HATA smiled a sad smile -- a smile of resignation, peculiar to a Japanese. His situation was indeed a pitiful one."

Thus defense witness YONAI confirms the prosecution's own evidence that appointment of a succeeding War Minister "was not being refused." If HATA were intending to destroy the YONAI Cabinet, he would

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have informed YONAI immediately that there would be no succeeding War Minister and that would have ended the matter. But, as both YONAI and the prosecution's own evidence show, HATA attempted, by attending the Three Chiefs' meeting, to find a succeeding War Minister, and thus to save the YONAI Cabinet although he, HATA, had resigned after receipt of a letter from his superior, Prince KANIN.

Continuing in this same exhibit, we find still another turn in the prosecution's own evidence as to what really happened to bring about the resignation of the YONAI Cabinet. Although as stated above, KIDO says: "Premier YONAI came to Hayama at 6:40 p.m. and explained the details of the resignation en bloc. It was about as I have set it down," immediately after his recording of ANAMI's version of what had happened, namely, that YONAI had ordered HATA to resign (6,246) just a few pages later (6,250), and one day later in the diary, at a council of the senior statesmen, KIDO told ther when they asked for the details: "Lord Privy Seal . . . I don't know the details but the gist of what I learned of the situation from Premier YONAI yesterday at Hayama is as follows: The Army thinks that the present cabinet is not adequate to carry out a policy which will suit the present ever-changing

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world situation and which will not be regretted later. It seems to show also a tendency to form a political reapproachment with Germany and Italy. It also feels that even in domestic affairs the government, being separated from the people will be unable to obtain satisfactory results in a number of policies, and that unless the political structure is strengthened, the government will be unable to cope with the present emergency. In a word since the War Minister's opinion is different from that of the present cabinet, he cannot fulfill his duty as the leader of the Army. Hence he has some to the point of resigning."

Here is the perfect example of the value of hearsay testimony in KIDO's Diary. In the same prosecution excerpt, KIDO records a version of the downrall of the YONAI Cabinet that the Vice-Minister of War told to the Chief Aide-de-Camp, who, in turn, told it to KIDO who recorded it in his diary. This version was that YONAI ordered HATA to resign. The same day and a few lines later in the diary, KIDO says after YONAI's explanation of the event, "It was about as I have set it down." One day later in his diary, KIDO, this time telling the event to the council of senior statesmen, says HATA had come to the point of resigning and but a few lines before ANAMI's version,

Version that 'War Minister HATA met Premier YONAI after 9:00 a.m. this morning and submitted his resignation." And, to complete the circle after KIDO recorded these three different versions of the event in his diary, we have KIDO's testimony under oath before this Tribunal; we have this question and answer on redirect examination (31,613):

Mr. Keenan asked you if General HATA by his resignation broke up the YONAI Cabinet you said it appeared so. Can you clear that, please?

"A The situation at that time was that
War Minister HATA did not resign of his own volition.
That is what I meant to say."

Here, then, we have additional confirmation of the defense contention that HATA did not seek to destroy the YONAI Cabinet. "HATA did not resign of his own volition." How, out of this evidence, can the prosecution contend that HATA was a prime mover in the overthrow of the YONAI Cabinet? The prosecution's position in this matter, based on its own evidence, is ridiculous.

Continuing with this same prosecution exhibit, we next learn (6,254):

"When War Minister HATA came to Hayama today to report to the throne on personnel, he told mo what the opinion of the army is. Generally it was the same as that which KIDO had heard from YUNAI yesterday. I told him that this business was very regrettable, he and I felt it was one consolation that we could see where the responsibility lay, although there had been up till now many uncertain attitudes. HATA, who was once Chief Aide-de-Camp and who knows how busy I am at such times, was extremely sorry and had tears in his eyes."

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It will be noted that this entry refers to the previous dav's entry when KIDO said "it was about as I have set it down" and the passage almost immediately preceding that was ANAMI's version that YONAI had ordered HATA to resign. And going back still farther, we find ISHIWATA's version that HATA resigned. Bearing in mind that the Emperor himself had caused HATA to become War Minister, it is highly significant that the Emperor should saw to the man he had made War Minister in order to fight the Tru-Partite Pact, "I told him that this business was very regrettable, but I felt it was one consolation that we could see where the responsiblity lav, although there had been up till now many uncertain attitudes." The Emperor says to HATA, "Te can see where the restons bility lav," meaning that HATA and the Emperor saw eve to eve as to the group which caused the downfall of the "ONAI Cabinet and that grour did not include FATA because in the rest of the passage it will be noticed that the Emperor used the pronoun "I".

The Tribunal well knows how the Emperor had excoriated the previous War Minister when he had displeased the Emperor, and surely if HATA had been responsible for the overthrow of the YONAI Cabinet, the Emperor would not have received him so cordially

and told him that they, the Emperor and the man he had made War Minister, could see where the responsibility for the overthrow of the cabinet lay. That the Emperor wanted the army to support the YONAI Cabinet is made crystal-clear in this same prosecution exhibit when under date 16 July, KIDO recorded (pros. Ex. 532, T. 6,248):

"In the course of my audience with the Emperor, the Emperor told me the cirdumstances surrounding his summoning of War linister HATA at the time when the Imperial order for cabinet formation was given to Admiral YONAL.

to question HATA, and that YUASA, too, thought that questioning would be all right. He had called HATA and asked him whether the army was willing to cooperate with YONAI, to whom he, the Emperor, had given the Imperial order. As HATA had replied that that was fine and had not given any orders."

So, then, if a few short months later, HATA had violated his pledge and overthrown the YONAI Cabinet,

would the Emperor have received HATA so well? And would HATA, if he had deliberately wrecked the Cabinet, as the prosecution contends, have been "extremely sorry and had tears in his eves" when he had this interview with the Emperor, and the Emperor told him "we could see where the responsibility lay"? Therefore, from all these passages that we have quoted from the prosecution's own evidence, it can be seen that HATA did not resign voluntarily from the YONAI Cabinet, had no intention of wrecking it, did not refuse to name a successor. Every credible bit of evidence points that HATA faithfully followed the Emperor's request to support the YONAI Capinet, that MATA did not sponsor the Tir-Partite Pact, for, as we have seen, it never came up for cabinet discussion. We have purposely examined every scrap of evidence on this point, pro and con, in order to give the Tribunal the full picture. The Tribunal will note that nowhere in KIDO's voluminous recordings of the various versions of the event, is there any mention made of a note sent by HATA to Premier YONAI. Surely this should convince even the prosecution that their newspaper article is worthless.

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Additional evidence that HATA did not resign voluntarily in order to destroy the cabinety, but, on the contrary, was a supporter of the cabinet, is found

in the examination of the accused MUTO by the Tribunal. n answer to a question put by the Tribunal, he stated T. 33,244): "When I returned to Tokyo on the 9th or 10th of July, I found that the War Minister had received a very 6 strong document from the General Staff embodying its 7 strong opinions. This also is included in my affidavit. "Because of this note, the War Minister's oposition ... War Minister HATA's position had become 10 very difficult. The reason was that when War Minister 11 FATA assumed his portfolio he received a very strong 12 demand from the Emperor that he cooperate with Prime 13 Winister YONAI. Therefore, War Finister HATA, who since 14 the establishment of the YONAI Cabinet had fully cooperated with it, was suddenly faced by those demands of the General Staff which might even lead to a demand for the 16 17 general resignation of the cabinet." Here again, then, we find additional direct 18 testimony that HATA supported and cooperated with the 19 YONAI Cabinet, and this evidence was elicited by the Fribunal itself. PUFO savs, "War Minister HATA's pos-Ition had become very difficult." And this is exactly 24 What YONAI, ARITA, SAWADA and TANAKA told the Court. 25 HATA, because of his own inclinations as the above witnesses testified, and because of the Emperor's orders to cooperate with the YONAI Cabinet, was being forced to resign by orders of his superior, H.I.H. Prince KANIN, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, who, with Vice War Minister ANAMI and the other staff officers, as KIDO noted in his previously quoted prosecution exhibit, wanted the YONAI Cabinet and HATA out of the wav because they considered them inadequate to meet the changing world conditions. To them this meant signing up with Germany and Italy who were apparently then victorious in Europe.

As to whether HATA refused to name a War Minister to succeed himself, Mr. English, cross-examining the accused MUTO, brought out this testimony (T. 33,246):

"Q General, it is a fact, isn't it, that HATA resigned on 16 July, 1940?

"A Ves.

"Q It is also a fact that when asked by Premier YONAI to recommand a successor, HATA reported to the Premier on the same day, that is, 16 July 1940, that the Three Chiefs' Conference had no one to recommend as his successor for War Minister?

"A What you have just said is at variance with what I know of the facts.

"Q And did not the failure of the military to recommend a successor for War Minister HATA force the

## resignation of the YONAI Cabinet?

"A I heard that on the 16th, when Premier YONAI

had a conference with HATA the two failed to come to an

agreement of views, and, thereupon, Premier YONAI said,

I must ask you to resign'...told HATA 'I must ask

you to resign.' Furthermore, Premier YONAI is reported

to have told War Minister HATA on that occasion: 'I

con't suppose that we will be able to find a successor

for your post.' General HATA replied: 'Well, I can't

sav anything here by myself. I will have to go back to

the War Ministry and see the results of the Three Chiefs'

Conference and then return to the War Ministry.'

"Inen the Three Chiefs -- the Three Army Chiefs -mot with each other and although I do not know the contents of their conference, they finally came to the conglusion that there was no one who wished to accept a
post as War Minister in succession to General HATA.
Thereupon, General HATA returned to the Cabinet and
peported that decision to the Prime Minister."

Here again we have testimony that there wasn't refusal by HATA to name a successor. He didn't refuse but he went to the conference. If he had deliberately that and the transparence of the had been laid by him, he would have told the Premier that he would refuse to name a successor and the Tribunal will note

Mr. English didn't say HATA refused but instead in his question he conceded " . . . the Three Chiefs had no one to recommend as his successor."

We have still another source of confirmation that HATA did not seek to wreck the Cabinet, as the prosecution contents. In Mr. Tavenner's lengthy opening address on Tri-Partite Pact phase of the prosecution's case, he states (m. 5,865):

"After several attempts to bring about the downfall of the YONAI Cabinet had proved unsuccessful, the military resorted to the device of having the War l'inister resign."

No here, in all the evidence that follows, nor in cross-examination by the prosecution of our defense witnesses is it even suggested that HATA was in on any of these "several attempts" to destroy the YONAI Cabinet. 17 Mr. Tavenner carefully refrains from stating HATA was responsible. He states "the military resorted to the device of having the War Minister resign." Now, if HATA intended to destroy the YONAI Cabinet he could very easily have resorted to tactics of creating disagreement on policy during the life of the cabinet. The Tribunal has heard such evidence that War Ministers both before and after HATA did that and caused cabinets to collapse. Yet nowhere is there one word that HATA made speeches or

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brought about dissentions in the cabinet. The evidence is overwhelming he always supported the cabinet.

The final evidence that HATA was not pro-Tri-Partite Pact is to be found again in the prosecutions own evidence. We turn again to Mr. Tavenner's opening remarks in the prosecution's Tri-Partite phase. Speaking of the HONOYE Government which succeeded the YONAI Cabinet, he stated (T. 5,865):

"The new government formed a commission of twenty-four leading persons consisting mostly of followers of the policy of collaboration with the Axis powers with the aim of planning suitable action for the adjustment of state affairs on an authoritarian basis."

Wouldn't he be one of the "leading persons consisting mostly of followers of the policy of collaboration with the axis powers", if the prosecution contention that he was pro-Tri-Partite Pact were true? It will be remembered that HATA was still in Tokyo, having been made military councillor, which is the interim position to which all high renking Japanese officers are appointed between assignments, while avaiting orders to their new command. While HATA was Cabinet Counciller, there never was a meeting, a conference or any action taken. The post is merely a temporary honorific one for high

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ranking officers. HATA remained in Japan till he assumed his post in China in 1941.

Continuing with Mr. Tavenner, he told this
court that in order to implement the provisions of the
newly signed Tri-Partite Pact, various commissions were
formed (m. 5,886). "The commissions formed under the
provisions of the Tri-Partite Pact included in their
membership the accused..." and Mr. Tavenner names
six accused, four of whom were military men. And again,
HATA is not one of them. These two instances are perfect
evidence that HATA was not personally, and was not considered by others, a supporter of the Pact.

For the clinching evidence that even the Germans did not consider HATA as pro-Tri-Partite Pact, we invite the Tribunal's attention to two prosecution exhibits which we contend clinch our position for us, if, indeed, additional evidence were needed in view of all the above-reviewed evidence. Prosecution exhibit 1272 (T. 11,352) shows Germany sought to honor with awards "certain Japanese for receiving German decorations on the occasion of the Tri-Partite Pact." Nine Japanese are named in the exhibit, six of them accused in this trial. But nowhere do we find HaTA's name. The awards are to the supporters of the Tri-Partite Pact and "this concerns men of the immediate group surrounding ToJO who will presumably

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retain for some time their decisive influence on the shaping of Japanese policy." And still the prosecution alleges HATA is tied in with TOJO and that HATA put TOJO in as succeeding War Minister! They don't even consider HATA here as in the "immediate group surrounding "OJO", or as a man with any "influence on the shaping of Japanese policy." This certainly looks as though only the prosecution considered HATA pro-Pact and anti-YONAI. And it isn't because HATA has a command in the field and is no longer in the War Ministry, because one of the accused gets a medal although he too "has now received an important field command." (T. 11,355) Everyone of the nine citations is for pro-Pact and pro-collaboration support. But HATA is not among them.

We proceed to the next Prosecution exhibit on this point and learn (exhibit 2247, T. 16,181) that on the anniversary of the Pact, five high Japanese, including three accused, received German awards. Again, HATA was not among them. And all this, we again stress, is prosecution evidence. This surely lays at rest the contention that HATA was pro-Pact and anti-YONAI. Not before he was War Minister, not while he was War Minister, did HATA say or do anything to show he was pro-Pact, and even the surrounding evidence, as above quoted, after HATA was War Minister, fails to give the prosecution a

leg to stand on, when it contends HATA wrecked the YONAI Cabinet as his part in the alleged conspiracy. Surely, if he had performed such yeoman service in the cause of the conspiracy, he would not have been so pointedly ignored by the Germany as the above two prosecution exhibits shown. And he would not have been ignominiously kept in the background as a mere military councillor, with no meetings, no conferences, no one to counsel until finally, in April of 1941, he was sent to China, where he would be out of the way.

silence at all times (except for only one occasion) on all matters political. He simply was an officer at all times, never a politician, never engaged in politics. TANAKA says (T. 29,410), "A further incident which served to aggravate the antipathy felt by those in high army circles (against HATA) was the following: General HATA was strongly opposed to the participation by army officers in politics and when he became War Minister for the first time, he addressed all the officers in the War Ministry Building. The gist of the speech was as follows:

The present army is not trusted by the Emperor and it is the first duty of the army to endeavor to recover the Emperor's trust. In order to achieve this

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objective, all military personnel should absolutely cease any participation in politics and return to their regular duties of soldiering.'"

And as on example of his enforcing this order of "no politics", we again refer the Tribunal to TANAKA's testimony, already quoted in this summation, that HATA reprimanded and punished the colonel who had in a speech in Sendai attacked the United States and England.

militarist, when after his 300 page polemic against militarists, he was questioned and answered as follows (T. 31,236):

"Q Marquis FIDO, in your affidavit vou refer to the militarists and the fact that you consistently fought them and opposed them. Do you include General HATA in this category?

"A I do not include General HATA."

It is overpoweringly and overwhelmingly clear, we respectfully submit, that all the evidence above reviewed smashes completely the prosecution's contention that HATA was pro-Tripartite Pact and that he was a "prime mover in the overthrow of the YONAI Cabinet."

Next, we turn our contention to the prosecution's allegation that HATA "put into office as War Minister, the accused "OJO." Let us examine the evidence. 1 2

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First, we look at the unchallenged evidence given before the Tribunal by NODA, Kengo, Chief of the Personnel Affairs Bureau in the War Ministry at the time, who stated TOJO's appointment was in the regular course of standard Japanese army procedure (T. 29,394).

"After the resignation of the YONAI Cabinet. as I was Chief of the Personnel Affairs Bureau, I used the most scrupulous care and attention in recommending the man to succeed General HATA as War Minister ... I took into full consideration the views prevalent in the various bureaus of the War Ministry and the wishes of the General Staff, and I consulted fully with the Vice-Minister of Wa., General ANAMI. After all these consultations and after a thorough-going study, I decided that under the then existing circumstences Lieutenant-General TOJO was suitable, and I, as Chief of the Personnel Bureau, recommended him to War Minister HATA as the succeeding War Minister. There were others who were considered for the position of new War Minister, but they were already in other important positions and it was difficult to effect a speedy transfer.

"Lieutenent-General TOJO, on the other hand, was in Tokyo, holding the position of Inspector-General of the Air Force, and he had formerly been Chief of the Military Affairs Bureau and of the Maintenance Bureau.

Further, he had once been the Vice-Minister of Wer in

the HIRANUMA Cabinet. I considered him a suitable military administrator and it was the foeling in army circles that no one except Lieutenant-General TOJO would do, so under those circumstances, I recommended him as the succeeding War Minister. In accordance with this recommendation General HaTA submitted the name of General TOJO to the Three Chiefs' Conference held on 18 July 1940. The Three Chiefs' Conference was unanimous in recommending Lieutenant-General TOJO, and deneral HATA's submitting the name of General TOJO to the Three Chiefs' Conference was in accordance with the standing procedure for such matters in the Wer ministry. As a matter of fact, neither War Minister HATA nor I had any personal relations with HATA, nor I had any personal relations with Lieutenant-General TOJO in the past nor any intimate relations with him." Further, on Mr. English's cross-examination, General MUTO confirmed General NODA's testimony that there was nothing irregular in TOJO's recommendation as succeeding War Minister (33,247): 21 "Q Then it is true, General, that immediately after the fall of the YONAI Cabinet, the Three Chiefs' Conference recommended TOJO as next War minister? "A I know nothing about the content of the

Three Chiefs' Conference. I believe the things

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happened -- I believe that the testimony of Lieutenant-General NODA, who was the Chief of the Personnel Bureau of the Var Linistry, is true on this point."

As with the similarly regular recommendation of General MULO, which we have already covered, mr. Sutton here also seemed to think it important that HATA could have refused to accept the recommendation that came from the person whose duty it was to make it (here, NODA) (29,299):

"Q my question was, did HATA, the retiring War minister, have authority to recommend for appointment as the new War minister some person other than the person suggested by you? You may answer yes or no.

"A Yes."

We don't deny that. But is it significant?
What reason does the prosecution give that HATA should refuse to follow the regular Japanese army system in these two cases? None.

If, on the other hand, some other persons had been regularly recommended and HATA had refused to follow the regular procedure and had himself recommended AUTO and TOJO, then the prosecution might have a point. But the fact that HATA followed standard Japanese Army procedure when he didn't absolutely

have to is of no moment.

Continuing its cross-examination, the prosecution cleared up for the defense a fine point and helped our contention that HATA did not wilfully wreck the YONAI Cabinet and did not plan to do it. This cross-examination cuestion and answer do it. (29,399):

"Q Were you requested by General HATA at any time prior to the resignation of the YONAI Cabinet to suggest the name of a person to succeed him as War minister?

"A No."

Had HATA deliberately wrecked the YONAI
Cabinet, he'd have known he was going to do it and
would have told NODA before he resigned, not after.
Further, if HATA had had any preference for TOJO as
next War Linister, he'd have ordered NODA to recommend TOJO. Here again, on this point the prosecution
comes to our rescue and itself gets this information
for us by cross-examining our own witness thusly
(T. 29,400):

"Q Was General HATA very desirous that TOJO should be appointed as War minister to succeed him?

"A The fact of the matter is just this. I expressed my views recommending General TOJO as succeeding War Minister, and General HATA merely agreed with

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my recommendation."

That kills, but good, through its own cross-examination, the prosecution's contention that HATA, as an act of conspiracy, personally made TOJO next War Linister.

There is one last point. In continuing his cross-examination, ar. Sutton asks the following questions and receives the following answers (29,401):

"Q Did not General HATA, before KONOYE formed his cabinet, go to the Emperor and recommend to the Experor that TOJO be appointed as War minister?

"A I do not know about that.

"? And was not this done secretly by War Minister HATA at that time?

"A I do not think anything was done secretly.

\*Q And did not the Emperor state that he thought the procedure wrong because Prince KONOYL was still in the midst of forming his cabinet and had not accepted General TOJO for the post?

"A I do not know.

"Q And did not the Emperor state that he considered the action of War Minister HATA in secretly recommending TOJO as his successor as being overhasty and out of order?

"A I am hearing such matters for the first time

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nov. I do not know."

NODA, then, had never heard of this. We won't again go into the value of these excerpts from KIDO's Diary. We leave to the Tribunal to determine what such excerpts as these, which go unconfirmed every time the prosecution cross-examined either the accused or the defense witnesses, are worth. We'll examine the excerpt which gave rise to these questions. It states (Ex. 539, T. 6,266):

"I was again received in audience this afternoon from 2:25 to 2:50. The imperor stated that the Ver Minister had just secretly recommended TOJO for Var Minister and Tonoyuki YAMASHITA for Inspector-General of the Air Force, but he thought the procedure was wrong, for Prince KONOYE was still in the midst of forming a cabinet and had not yet accepted TOJO for the post, and, as he thought that the action was rather overhasty, he had asked the War Minister whether he did not think the action as being out of order."

We point out five things to the Tribunal with reference to this exhibit. The first is that the entry is dated 18 July, 1940, two days after HATA had resigned as War minister. Secondly, granting for the moment that the excerpt is true, if HATA had deliberately wrecked the YONAI Cabinet, would be dare face the

Emperor and recommend a successor in person, after the Emperor, when the YONAI Cabinet had been created, had ordered HATA to cooperate with it and HATA had promised to do so? That seems most unlikely. And if that had been the case, why didn't the Laperor also excoriate HATA, while he was at it, for wrecking the YONAI Cabinet, if indeed HATA had done so? And the Tribunal has the examples of the imperor's words to ITAGAMI when he was War .. inister and to the nen responsible for the signing of the Tripartite Pact later. Thirdly, the Tribunal will note that HATA came to recommend two men -- the new War Linister and the new Inspector-General of the Air Force. It was, therefore, not a special, dark, insidious visit to recommend TOJO. It was a trip such as every retiring War minister must make to the Emperor to recommend his successor and other appointments in the succeeding War Linistry. The only thing here is that KIDO quotes the Emperor as believing "that the action was rather overhasty since KONOYI had not yet accepted TOJO. But this was already two days after HATA had resigned. Had it been done before HATA had resigned or immediately after, it might appear improper or certainly part of a prepared acc. Nothing of the sort appears here. Only that the Emperor asked HATA

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"whether he did not think the action as being out of order." since KONOYL had not yet made an announcement. There's no positive statement that the action was improper. merely a question by the imperor that HATA made the recommendation too soon. There's not even a suggestion that the recommendations should never be made. Only that they were made too soon. There's nothing capital here. It is very significant, if the Tribunal please, that HATA also recommended the Inspector-General of the Air Force at the same time. It is thus proven that it was no special trip for the sake of TOJO. It was no conspiratorial act only for the new War minister, but a normal action by the outgoing War minister, to perform his last official duties -- recommendation to the Emperor of the new high ranking War ministry officials. Had it been improper for the old far minister to make any recommendation at all, then it might look like an attempt to jam through certain appointments. But we have guoted the prosecution exhibit in full so the Tribunal can see for itself the only question was that of timing, not the act of recom ending. The act of recom ending was wholly proper.

The wurth Point in this exhibit we call to the Tribunal's attention is the fact that when HATA

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Q.

visited the Emperor on the 17th of July, one day after his resignation (exhibit 532) already reviewed, to report on personnel, he did not recom end TOJO, but he did recommend him on his second visit, two days after his resignation. ... HATA's resignation and his and the Three Chiefs' recommendation of TOJO had been prearranged, vould not HATA have proposed TOJO the first time he visited the Emperor? The prosecution would have us believe it was all part of a plot and that HATA was in on it. Why then didn't HATA imiediately recommend TOJO? The answer was secured for us by ar. Sutton in his cross-examination of NODA, already quoted which revealed that HATA did not ask NODA to recommend a successor till after he, HATA, had resigned as War minister. Hence, the reconmendation was not ready the day after HATA resigned but was ready two days later.

The Fifth Point we call to the Tribunal's autontion is the word "secretly" in the line: "The imperor stated that the War Minister had just secretly recommended TOJO for War Linister ...." Let us see if indeed this was a "secret" recommendation and also let us see if the recommendation itself was improper on the part of HATA. We'll examine the testimony of a man who himself was twice War Minister and

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was also the subject of this "secret" recommendation.

accused TOJO, proceeded as follows (36,607):

"Q Can you tell us any reason why General HATA should go to the imperor and secretly suggest to the imperor that you be made war minister at that time?

"A Well, I could imagine from the standpoint of procedure after I became War minister.

"Q Do you know of any other instance in which a retiring war minister went secretly to the Emperor to recommend his successor in all the history of modern Japan?

"A Yes, I know that. That is this: Shall I explain?

"Q If there are other instances, yes, please do so.

"A That is always the case. Personnel matters with regard to general officers are done according to the following procedure: Before any appointment is made, an informal recommendation is made to the Throne. There is nothing secret about it. This is the procedure in Japan, and therefore I presume that informal recommendation was made. But a question may possibly arise, that is, as to time, when such informal recommendation is made by the Var minister or the Navy

The question Minister, depending on the situation. arises if the Wer minister or the Navy minister should recommend a candidate for one of the two posts before -- informally to the Throne before the Premier-designate decides on the personnel of his cabinet, because that would give rise to a political issue. The proper procedure is that after the Premier-designate has determined upon the Navy minister and the War Minister of his cabinet, then the preceding Navy Minister and the War Minister make the informal recommendation to the Throne. That is the proper procedure. So I presume it is to that fact KIDO is referring when he says in his diary to the effect that the action -- when he mentions in his diary that the action was rather overhasty.

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"There seems to be some doubt in your mind with regard to making informal recommendations to the Throne of the succeeding War Minister, but the procedure I have mentioned is customary procedure. There is nothing secret about it. It is our customary procedure. I will repeat it again.

"Q No.

"A (Continuing) so as to create no doubt.

The fact of 'naiso', that is, making an informal suggestion or recommendation to the Throne, is a customary procedure and there is nothing secret about it. The only question is as to the time such recommendation is made."

Mr. Keenan continued the cross-examination on this point. We quote it in toto so that the Court may get the full picture including the Language Board's correction at the President's request of the translation of the word "naiso", and the acceptance of that change by Mr. Keenan from "secret" to "informal recommendation."

"Q Well, to simplify the matter, Mr. ToJo, and to come back to the KIDO Diary, I will quote his language. He said that the War Minister had just secretly recommended ToJO for War Minister, and I suggest to you that that was the language of KIDO and not

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my own. Do you say KILO was wrong about that?

"A In the first place, the translation is mistaken with regard to the word 'naiso' -- informal recommendation. There is nothing secret about 'naiso'. It was because you did not appear to understand what I meant by 'naiso', informal recommendation, that I tried to repeat my explanation to you and received the reprimend of the Court.

"Q Mr. TOJO, you and I are on even terms: I don't speak Japanese and you don't speak English, so let us refer, if there is a question about it, to the Language Arbitration Board.

"THE PRESIDENT: It is most important. We will ask for an immediate determination by the Board.

"THE WITNESS: Another point I wish to mention to you is that it is not only you who does not understand the meaning of 'naiso', or informal recommendation.

Even many of the Japanese gathered here do not know what it means.

"LANGUAGE ARBITER (Captain Kraft): The word in question seems to be 'naiso', which, literally translated, means 'informal recommendation'.

"THE WITNESS: Well, that coes not appear to hit the nail on the head, but that is much better.

"BY LA. KEENAN:

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"Q Now we will proceed to some parts of KIDO's Diary on this very precise subject and see if you can find some changes in the language that is appropriate. I will repeat, with the Court's indulgence, a short paragraph of four or five or six lines with the corrected statement of 'informally' instead of 'secretly'.

"This is KIDO speaking for the moment:

"'I was again received in audience this
afternoon from 225 to 250. The Emperor stated that
the War Minister had just informally recommended TOJO
for War Minister and Tomoyuki YAMASHITA for Inspector
General of the Air Force, but that he thought the

"Now, if that translation is correct, Mr. TOJO, KIDO, the former Lord Keeper, is quoting the Emperor of Japan as saying he thought the procedure was wrong. Do you differ from the Emperor on that point?

"A No, my opinion does not differ, but I am saying that the question is when that informal recommendation was made. It is the time.

"Q The entry is of 18 July 1940 and the time is sometime between 225 and 250. Leaving aside the Pearl Harbor episode, I would take that to

 procedure was wrong. 1

mean the afternoon and not in the early morning.

"A Well, I don't think that has anything to do with the Pearl Harbor attack.

"Q I am asking you if it helped you in answering the question to know that it apparently was sometime between 225 in the afternoon and 250 on 18 July 1940 when this procedure took place that we are referring to.

"A Well, is that so? In that case I believe, as KILO himself states here, that the informal recommendation was made a little prematurely as to time.

"Q May I interupt?

"A Well, I haven't completed my reply.

"Q But I wish to make a correction that I think you will accept. Will you permit me to interrupt you for a moment?

"THE PRESIDENT: Better let him complete his reply, Mr. Chief of Counsel. We are having difficulty here.

"A May I? It should be this way: On the 18th, if Prince KONOYE had not yet decided -- had not yet definitely decided upon the War Minister of his Labinet and an informal recommendation had taken place at such a time, then that procedure was out of

order.

"Q Now may I ask you a question?

"A Please.

"Q The correction I was suggesting is that that wasn't what KIDO said; that was KIDO quoting the Emperor of Japan. Did you set that point?

"A Yes, very well.

Prince KONOYE was still in the midst of forming a cabinet and had not yet accepted TOJO for the post. Lo you ceall hearing that as an excerpt from his diary?

"A Yes.

"Q Now, Mr. TOJO, I think you and I can agree on one thing, that you turned out to be a rather important member of Prince KONOYE's Cabinet, didn't you?

"A Yes, I became en importent member.

netter of why this unusual procedure was adopted of the outgoing for Minister who caused the fall of the YONAI Cabinet going to the Emperor and suggesting you as the War Minister for the new arbinet, even before Prince KONOYE had made his own recommendation? Can you halp us on that subject? I am suggesting to you that someone was awfully anxious to have you stop in

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es Wer Minister et thet time. "A I do not affirm any such assumption, and furthermore, if you will let me say it, there is nothing unusual or strange about the outgoing War Minister informally recommending to the Throne the. succeeding Wer Minister.

"Q Well, the Emperor thought this procedure very strenge, didn't he? And he said so to KIDO.

"A That is why I took such pains, even to the extent of receiving a reprimend from the Court, to explain the situation at that time. Now, this situation is not any too easy to understand, Mr. Chief of Counsel. If a very detailed explanation were made of the procedure and the situation, then parhaps you might understand. I am suggesting to you that it is a very difficult problem to understand.

"Q I am suggesting to you, Mr. TOJO, that you are making it very difficult for us to understand it, and I don't meen to be unkind about it, but I em suggesting that the then Lord Keeper of the Privy Scal quoted the Emperor of Japan as saying that this was an improper procedure, and an over-hasty action. That is what the Emperor said to KIDO if KIDO told the truth, and I am therefore asking you --"A I understand the situation very well. I

can also understand what KIDO states there, and I furthermore understand what the Emperor felt or was thinking very well -- what the Emperor said very well.

THE MONITOR: Strike out the first interpretation.

"Q What I am suggesting is, if I may be permitted,
Mr. TOJO, I am not talking about suggestions made to
the Emperor for cabinet positions; I am talking about
this particular case where a suggestion was nade by
the outgoing War Minister for his successor to the
Emperor before the Prima Minister had made up his
mind about it. That is what I am talking about.

"A Well, the situation was as I have already explained to you in quite even unnecessary detail so far. The point I have been endeavoring to make clear to you is this: There is nothing strange or out of the ordinary with regard to the procedure of 'naiso' or informal recommendation. The doubt arises only when an outgoing War Minister makes any such informal recommendation to the Throne before the Premier Designate -- in this case Prince KONOYF -- had determined on the War Minister or the Navy Minister of his cabinet. The procedure would be out of the ordinary.

THE MONITOR: Japanese court reporter.

("hereupon, the Japanese Court reporter

read.)

"A (Continuing) And so in this particular case the question then arises -- the doubt then arises in connection with such a procedure whether the time -- the proper time -- the recommendation was made at the proper time and in a proper manner. If I said just a few more words, I suppose the situation will be even more clear.

"This is the situation: The War Minister and the Navy Minister of a cabinet are formally recommended to the Throne by the cabinet itself, but candidates for these two offices, being an active general officer or an admiral, there is the necessity for the army and navy respectively to make an informal recommendation to the Throne, in addition or aside from the previous procedure carried out by the applicat.

"Q Have you finished?

"A Yes, I have."

This, then, should completely set at rest the contention that there was anything secret about HATA's recommendation to the Emperor and that there was anything sinister in the act of recommendation itself.

The recommendation was correct procedure, always followed by the outgoing war Minister. The recommendation

was not made "secretly," but was an "informal recommendation," and the only question was that of time. Although the arbinet had resigned two days before, and the Three Chiefs had already nominated TOJO, Prince KONOYE, the Premier-designate, had not yet, it seems, gotten around to making the formal public announcement. He did so the next day.

This, then, completes our enswer to the prosecution's contention that HATA participated in Japan's over-all aggression in three ways. One, as commander of the Japanese armics in China; two, that as Minister of War in the /BE and YONAI Cabinets he "helped determine the national policy and worked on plans and preparations for war during that period;" and, three, that "he was one of the prime movers in the overthrow of the YONAI Cabinet," and under this third point the concomitant allegations that he was a supporter of the Tripartite Pact, and that he "secretly" recommended TOJO to the Emperor.

The move now to the last allegations which the prosecution in its answer to our motion for dismissal makes against the accused HATA.

They are Count 45, Nanking, and Countes 47 to 50, the attacks against the Chinese cities Changsha, Hongyang, Kweilin, and Liuchow, and Counts 44, and

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on Centon. In our motion for dismissal we had claimed that at the time, October 1938, HATA was only Commanding General of the Japanese Army in Central China and that the attack on Centon was made by the South China Japanese Army under another commander and that HATA was in no wise connected with this operation. Mr. Comyns Carr, in his answer to our motion for dismissal, very properly recognized the truth of our statement and accepted it. He stated (p. 16832):

"The attack on Canton, Count. 46, was made by the South China force and he can only be held responsible for that on the basis that it was an act of the conspiracy of which we contend he was a member."

we, therefore, leave it at that and will not go again into the evidence as to HATA's non-connection with that operation. We, of course, do not accept Mr. Carr's statement that General HATA was a member of the alleged conspiracy.

Count 53, we respectfully submit to the Tribunal, is not even worthy of comment in this summation, because it is even more obvious with reference to this court than it is with the general counts on conspiracy that the prosecution has utterly failed

to prove conspiracy "to order, authorize, and permit the commanders-in-chief of the several Japanese naval and military forces" to commit the offenses alleged in this count. The prosecut on hasn't even attempted to prove a conspiracy of this type. The only thing this Tribunal has heard with reference to this alleged conspiracy was when this particular count in the Indictment was read into the record in May 7, 1946. We therefore agnore it and will devote ourselves to the counts in which some evidence was introduced.

tion at this time to the fact that the accused HATA is not named in Counts 37 and 38 the counts alleging the conspiracy to murder by the initiation of war. These conspiracies are alleged to have commenced on both counts on June 1, 1940. On this date, HATA was wer Minister in the YONAI Cabinet and it is highly significant that, although on Point Two in its answer to our motion for dismissal the prosecution alleges that HATA "worked on plans and preparations for aggressive war" while he was War Minister, he is not named as one of the conspirators in Counts 37 and 38, the conspiracy to murder counts. On this point we shall have more to say later.

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count 44, like Count 53, is a count alleging conspiracy to nurder prisioners of war and others.

"e respectfully submit the same contention as to this count as we did to Count 53, namely that the prosecution not only failed totally and completely to prove this alleged conspiracy, but they did not even attempt to off range evidence with reference to it. We, therefore, shall ignore this count.

Mr. Carr, in his enswer to our motion for dismissel, emperently agreeing with us that the wrong HATA is named in the Russian counts, skips Counts 51 and 52 and we shall likewise not take up the time of this Tribunal pointing out the lack of evidence against HATA with respect to these two murder counts.

THE PRISIDENT: We will recess for fifteen minutes.

(Whereupon, at 1445, a recess was taken until 1500, after which the proceedings were resumed as follows:)

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MARSHAL OF THE COURT: The International Military Tribunal for the For East is now resumed.

THE PRESIDENT: Nr. Lazarus.

MR. LAZI US: With respect to Count 45, the Nanking Count, Er. Carr status (16831): "He is charged in Count 45 with responsibility for the attack upon and repo of Manking when he held his itportant post at the War Linistry." At the time referred to, MATA was Inspector-General of Military Education and Supreme Var Councillor. He had held these mosts only since 26 August 1937, less than four months. As Inspector-General, of curse, he had nothing to do with tactics or strategy and hadn't trained the troops involved in that short time. As for the Supreme "or Council, Mr. Horwitz of the presecution told this Tribunal when he was explaining the various positions in Japan (p. 672): "Its function is to advise on all military and navel policy generally and to coordinate all administrative and tectical organizations. It plays no part with respect to tactics and strategy." Ind the prosucution has not produced one single neeting held, one single bit of ravice given by the council or by HATA while LLTA held this position. Therefore, we respectfully submit, TATA connet be held responsible for the attack on Manking under any conditions and we

will not go any further into the merits of this count, as to HATA. We rely fully on the sound julgment of the Tribunal in finding HATA was in no wise responsible for Nanking.

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"ith reference to Count 47, the attack on Hankow, the presecution offered only one witness, an American businessman named Dorrance (3390). He stated that from the vantage point of an American ship in the river he sew Japanese soldiers kicking Chinese into the river and shouting them. This man is the only witness, we repeat, produced by the prosecution on this count. It is most peculiar that no Clinese citizen of Hankow could be found to be brought before this Tribunal to testify to support or corroborate the statements of Dorrance. Surely in so large a city someone must have seen these acts, that is, someone must have seen then if they did take place. The prosecution spared no expense in bringing witnesses from for off places to testify about atrocities in other sections of the Pacific. It is most peculiar, in fact, it is extraordinary, that the presecution could not find one Chinese who would come forward to testify on his own about these alleged atrocities, or

nents of Dorrance.

And Dorrence, if the Tribunal please, was the manager of the American Standard Oil Company in Hankow -- obviously, the war disrupted his business and he could have nothing but ill to say of those whose occuration of Hankov had ended his business. And more extraordinary still is the fact that the prosecution could not even produce one affidavit, or one statement from any source, or one newspaper article about atracities in Hankow, while the record is replete with hundreds of articles, statements and affidavits used by the prosecution to support its contention that atracities had taken place in Nanking, Hanila, and throughout the vast reaches of the Pacific.

The only testimony, then, is that of a man who is naturally biased in favor of the country in which he is making his living, and accimst the country whose actions interfered with the smooth running of his business operations.

Now let us exemine what the Tefense witnesses had to say about Mankow, KIMMAWA, a company commander who "led the vanguard entering the city" (21583), described the preparations so that there would be perfect order in the city when it was captured (21584)

and states (21585) "On the occasion of the capture of Hankow there were orders from division headquarters that all treeps maintain strict military discipline and to punish severely anyone taking an independent action. The occupation in Hankow was carried out in a truly exemplary manner. . . "There was no cross-examination of this witness.

Next witness YOSHIKAWA was during the Hankow campaign "in charge of the rear staff members of the Sixth Division" (21587). He states (21588): "Since a strict order on military discipline was previously issued by HATA, the Commander, it was printed on leaflets and distributed among the troops. This was written on the troops' attitude toward the Chinese residents, as well as on what precautions the troops should take within the city. It warned the troops to strictly observe military discipline and to prevent any disorders in the city. Thus we were to enter Hankoy with every precention." And (21,589): "The above being the situation, it is inconceivable that the Japanese Army could have committed assaults, locting, rapes, and other brutal acts. I have never seen such acts, never heard of such runers, and never received any reports of such atrocities."

And, again, the prosecution did not "wish to

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cross-examine."

Next witness, YOSHIBASHI, a captain on the staff of the Second Army at Eankow (21592). He states (21595): "And I made sure our troops entered Hankow meacefully without carrying out any hostile actions and that no trouble such as loot, violence, or blood-shed occurred on the part of our soldiers. When I came to Hankow, the city was, needless to say, in a peaceful state and not a single shot was heard.

"when our entry took place, only a minor unit short of a regiment, which was selected from among the Sixth Division was admitted into the city area for purposes of defense, by order of the army commander and the rest were all prohibited from entering within ten kilometers of Hankow."

He continues (21594): "Our army commander had issued very strict orders concerning military discipline." Also, "Entering Hankov on the afternoon of the 29th, I walked about every quarter, but I never sighted any corpses."

Next showing how careful HATA was to keep only spall forces in the city, and thus avoid any unnecessary friction, he states (21595): "When the guarding unit of the 13th Division were ordered on November 3 to be quartered in dirty buildings in the

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from entering the city, an adjutant of the corps came long and stormed at me in excitement: 'Such treatment is an insult to the army.' However, I could not allow them to enter the city on account of the order."

And he concludes with (21596): "At any rate, the most close precaution and strict supervisions were exercised, to prevent our soldiers from committing any outraseous acts. Therefore, I affirm here that such scandals as murder and rape of the Chinese people never occurred in Hankow."

and, again, if the Trilunal please, the presecution did "not wish to cross-exemine."

Dorrance had stated that the river, while he was aboard the gumboat, didn't have many other ships.

However, YOSHIBASHI tells us (21594): "... but all of them were prohibited from landing and the river was crowded with our ships filled with soldiers."

We wonder how good the powers of observation, and how credible the testimony of Dorrance, with respect to any of these matters, can be.

"To next present the witness OKKI, a war correspondent at Hankow (21601). He states (21603) while traveling in the city: "No dead were seen along the way" and (21604): "However, on October 26, the

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river swarmed with vessels," and (21605): "I swear that the runor that Japanese soldiers slaughtered Chinese wer prisoners and threw them into the river is entirely groundless. Actually, it was so calm on October 26 and 27 that not even the report of a cun was heard."

... and again the prosecution did not desire to cross- xamine this witness. There had been no battle for the city of Honkow. Skirmishes had taken part in the cities before Hankow, on the Chinese forces had withdrawn, and the entry into Hankow was a menceful march into the city.

The next witness was OGAMA, a war correspondent and to reached Hankow 26 October (21608). He states: "At that time, the Hanshui River, a tributary of the Yangtze, was so crowded with vessels of all sizes, that it was impossible for us to come directly alongside the bank. We, consequently, had to walk across. a number of ships to to ashere." And (21609): "On October 28, I amin went from Wuchang to Hankow. At that time a reat number of vessels were already at enchor in the river, so that upon landing, I could not to directly ashere, but had to walk across 30 or 40 yessels in order to reach the pier."

Latur, on the same pade, ". . . the streets

 were quite as tranquil as in peacetine." And again, if the Tribunal please, the prescention did not desire to cross-examine.

Hankow. He states (21612): "First I landed at Anking and assumed the responsibility of supplying the Second Army, then by the order of General MATA, Commander of the Japanese army in Central China, I left Anking for Chinking where I made liaison with headquarters of the Move army and received detailed instructions regarding the actual measures to be taken to protect foreign rights and persons and property of the Chinese at Mankow during the coming attack on that city."

After relating the efforts made to prevent the occurrence of incidents, he states (21613):
"Accordingly, we become very popular with the people.
The Mayor of Mankow, the President of the Peace (Association, and other persons representing the people came to me to express their pratitude."

and (21614): "Anyhow I heard not a simple our shot throughout my trip to Hankow." "Only a small number of garrison troops were stationed in the city."

the Commander in Chief of the Central China Expeditionary Forces, he told me carnestly to be cautious and discreet in action so as to provent thy possible complication in matters concerning protection of the people and foreign affairs." And, -again, the prosecution did not desire to cross-examine the witness.

The next witness was HIYAZAKI, staff officer of the 11th Prny. Speaking of HATA's actions with reference to the Wuhan Area, including Hankow, he states (21619): "Commander HATA had given deep consideration regarding the actions of military personnel required for the capture of Wuhan and marticularly with reference to the residents in concret buildings, installations, etc., outsile the entegory of military objectives and ordered that they were not Commaged or destroyed. One example of this is at the beginning of October of the same year, Commander HATA issued orders to his subordinate commanding officers prescribed survery 'Restricted Acts' in the capture of Wuhan, together with a map minutely indicating rights and interests of foreign nationals as well as importent Chinese political and rilitary installations. He took scrupulous stops to provent violation of Internotional Law and to prevent eccupation or destruction of installations other than military." And, again, the prosecution did not desire to cross-examine. Next, we have the witness MORIOKA, who was

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attached to headquarters of the Central China Expeditionary Army, and who arrived at Eankow on the 28th of October (21625): "Not a Japanese soldier was to be seen except those of the headquarters unit of the Japanese military police stationed in the Ssuming Bank, because the Japanese soldiers were not permitted to enter the city; but were quartered on the outskirts of the city." He was billeted aboard a Japanese ship Cocked at Hankow. He says (21626): "Never once did I hear the report of a gun. Nor Mid I see a nurder conmitted within the vicinity of the wharf. The customs house nearby the wherf was used as the office of the transport Luadquarters, from the window of which we had an unobstructed view of the vicinity." And, again, as with all our witnesses who had some on before, the presecution did not desire to crossexamine.

Our next witness was LEAGI staff officer of the Sixth Division and "among these who first entered the city limits of Mankow" (21642). He states (21644): "Furthermore, at the time of entry, no battle took place and not a shot was fired. The troops were composed and orderly; no air to kill provailed and the entry was accomplished very tranquilly. As Commander HATA strictly maintained military discipline

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and morals, we strictly observed his orders even before ot the entrance of the cities such foreigners as Gormans, French, and Italians came to most us. In order to avoid trouble, we did not go through the British' concession and entered the city by another way under the guidance of a French missionary. Accordingly, there was no trouble whatsoever and we even took up our lodgings in accordance with these people's instructions." (21645): "As I mentioned above, the Japanese forces tranquilly entered the fortress in mood order and it is not possible that such cruelties as plunder, rape, killing and wounding could have been done after this entry. Accordingly, I did not ever see even one corpse or the like inside the city." "In the occupation of Hankow the navy took charge of occupying the riverside area, the Japanese, French, and British concession area, and the army took over the airfield and the western area of Hankow."

So that, even if Dorrance is to be believed in his statements that atrocities took place at the wharf, those atracities were conmitted by naval forces, not by army forces under HATA.

AKAGI next states (21645): "At this time more than 1500 or 1600 Chinese ships having a full load of Chinese were sailing all over the Yangtze-king

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with identification marks of neutral and foreign countries."

Mankow operation stated (21701): "As we gave such strict order and instructions and took every precaution with minute care we believe there was not a single case of violation of military discipline in dankow, such as massacre, violence, plunder, etc., nor did we receive any report or hear of them. I read in the papers that sensence testified to the measure in Hankow, and I am astounded at such inconceivable testinony."

After fruitless cross-questioning, the record shows the following:

"Mr. Sutton: These questions are based upon the testimony of Derrance which appears at pages 3392 - 3396 of the transcript of proceedings.

"The President: We were told that this morning and we were also told that was the only testimony."

and with that we coase adducing further evidence on Mankow. This, then, is the defense evidence on the alleged attractities of Mankow and every bit of it went unchallenged by the prosecution. The testinony gives the lie direct to the statement of

Dorrance that the Yangtze was not filled with ships of all types. The evidence is unequivocal on the part of war correspondents and officers who took part in the campaign that there were no atrocities of any nature whatsoever in Hankow. There had been no battle for the city, there had been just a peaceful occupation. Only a small unit, less than a regiment, had been allowed to enter the city. The evidence shows that HATA had taken every possible precaution to forestall any untoward incidents or occurrences. We cannot help but again stress to the Tribunal the extraordinary fact that from one of the largest and most cosmopolitan cities in China, the prosecution could not produce even one witness, or the affidavit of a witness or any other document to support the testimony of Dorrance with reference to Lankow. The conclusion is inescapable, in view of the fact that the prosecution so heavily Cocumented its Manila and Manking phases, that, had ny atrocities really taken place, they would have been able to get evidence from somewhere to support the count on Hankow.

And, finally, and very important, we respectfully submit, is the fact that even in rebuttal, when the prosecution tried desperately to plug the many holes in its case, it could not, and did not, offer

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any additional evidence on Mankow either to support the testimony of Dorrance or to rebut our evidence on Mankow.

We next turn our attention to counts 48, 49, and 50, the cities of Changsha, Hongyang, Kweilin, and Liuchow. Our first witness was IMSUDA, a staff officer of the 11th Army, who took port in the capture of Kweilin. He states that Changsha and Hongyang had been bombed and destroyed by American and Chineseplanes, and for that reason many Chinese civilians were killed, and the Japanese Army did not even enter Reweilin. He states (21633): "Since Commander-in-Chief HATA had issued very strict orders concerning military discipline and public morality beforehand, bringing our attention even to the minutest letails, we gave our best efforts not to violate the commander's orders and instructions. Accordingly, in the Siengton and Kweilin operations, our army absolutely did not commit any misdeeds such as millago, rape, and massacre of the C. inese inhabitants."

This witness was not cross-examined.

for the establishment of "strict military discipline" issued by HATA and distributed by his direction for all units under his correct (21736-8), 8 December 1942,

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"loot, rape, or violate."

To hext offered the efficient of ARUGA, a lance-corporal who took part in the Kweilin-Liuchow operations. He states (21808):

Wailin-Luichew operations, we soldiers who were going to be engaged in them, were repeatedly and strictly instructed by our seniors about the unkeep of our discipline and morale toward the general Chinese people. These instructions emphasized the four items, 'Do not burn, kill, plunder, or violate.' These wornings were faithfully followed by every one of us soldiers.

"The soldiers of our unit warned one another and strictly observed these four points. I never saw our soldiers commit any criminal acts toward the Chinese populace during the operations."

By agreement with the presecution, this witness was not brought in for cross-examination.

Our next witness was Lieutenant-General
YOKOYAMA who was Commander of the 11th Army Corps.
The duty of this corps was to "attack and occupy changena, Hongyang, Kweilin, and Liuchow (21796).
Three divisions of this corps (21797), under YOKOY.MA,

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attacked Changsha. He states: "Then the city was later occupied, the Japanese troops conducted themselves so well, that "some 6000 meople who had taken refuge, returned before long." They even supplied food to the people (21798). The General next describes how his corps took Henryang (21798). Again he used three divisions and, as before, he followed HATA's order on strict discipline. Next the General takes up the Kweilin operation. This time he employed four divisions (21799). And finally he says: "I ordered two divisions to attack Liuchov simultaneously with the attack on Kweilin. The city was occuried easily on the 10th of November."

under the cormand of Lioutenant General TANAKA in

Kwantung cooperated with us." In speaking of all these
operations, he says (21800): "I strictly ordered my
officers and men to observe the fundamental rules of
'do not commit crimes,' 'do not commit plunder,'
'do not burn houses,' and 'do not kill.'" Later on
he states: "Unon receipt of instructions upon several
occasions from Supreme Commander MATA concerning
principle of 'leve the people,' I did everything in
my power to see to it that the said principle be
observed faithfully. For this purpose I issued

instructions several times to my officers and men in writing, or personally gave them to division commanders and chiefs of staff under my command at their meetings."

The presecution did not desire to cross-examine this witness.

"e need go no further with reference to these four cities, which were contured by the forces of Lieutenant-General YCKOYAMA between June and November, 1944, to show that everything that could be done by HATA to avoid atrocities was done by him. The evidence of YOKOYAMA makes it pellucid that MATA was not present at these operations nor Sid he direct them. Commanding General of all Jap ness Forces in China, he remained in his headquarters in control China and gave strict orders about the enforcement of discipline. There is no evidence that reports of any atrocities over reached him and the prosucution didn't even try to cross-examine our witnesses on this point. Nowhere in all the prosecution evilence of alleged atrocities in the taking of these four cities between June and November 1944 is there any allegation by the prosecution that the alleged atrocities were so extensive that they could not have failed but to reach HATA. The prosecution did make such allegations as to the erry commanders and the government officials in Tokyo

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with reference to Nanking. Nowhere is there an allogation that they were so prolonged that HATA must have heard of, or known of them. Nowhere, we respectfully submit, is there any knowledge of these atrocities imputed to HATA, and absolutely at no time has the prosecution introduced any evidence to show that HATA failed to take precautions to avoid atrocities. We have shown that he did take recautions and did give orders to avoid atrocities. In all wars there are, inevitably, undesirable incidents by the troops. There may have been some here, but how can the Commanding General, with forces scattered over hundreds of thousands of square miles, be held personally responsible for the conduct of these troops, if it is not shown that he ordered them, zuthorized them or permitted them to commit atracities? Not once, during the two years of this trial, has the prosecution shown that reports were made to HATA of those atrocities, or even that he had heard of them. Not once has it been shown that HATA failed or refused to take proper precaution. In Yokohama today, as well as in China, and elsewhere by the victorious allied powers, trials are being held for those who were in direct command of the troops in the field and who know about the atrocities perpetrated by their men, or they authorized, permitted, and in

cany cases even ordered the perpetration of such stracities. Ye have no such case here.

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All the above evidence quoted shows HATA took every possible procaution. We repeat again, at no time is there one shred of evidence offered by the 6 prosecution that HATA knew about those atrocities, 7 that they ever came to his attention, either by official report or by runor. Nowhere is there a scrap of evidence that they were so intensive or prolonged that they must have come to his attention and

that he therefore must have known of them somehow. 11 HATA was relieved in November of 1944 when the 12 last of these attacks, namely, Kweilin and Liuchow, were 13 alleged to have taken place. The earliest, Changsha, took place 18 June 1944. HATA had assumed command . 15 1 March 1941. Therefore, but for two months, he was 16 in command that entire year. During all of 1941, there 17 18 is no count alleging atrocities. During all 1942, 19 there is no count alleging atrocities. During all 20 1945 there is no count alleging atrocities, and, during 21 1944 it is only in the second half of the year that 22 we find counts alleging atrocities. Here, then, in . 23 one of the most bitter wars in history, where there 24 were Nankings and Manilas and the various atracities

alleged by the prosecution throughout the length and

breadth of the Pacific as well as in the prisoner of war camps throughout Japan, we find that for almost three and a half consecutive years of HATA's rule as Commander in China, no counts are offered alleging atrocities.

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We respectfully submit that this, above all, speaks most elequently as to HATA's role as a commanding general. If it had been true that he authorized, ordered, and permitted his troops to commit atrocities, then surely with millions of Japanese troops at his command scattered throughout China, there would have been one count for at least every single year of his command if not for every single month. This complete absence of counts for three and a half years shows that HATA was, as we contend, a strict disciplinarian and kept his troops under control at all times, and did not ever order, authorize, or permit them to commit atrocities.

granting for the sake of argument, that Hankow, Changsha, Hongyang, Kewilin and Linchow took place, then no single commander in any army belonging to any country, including my own, can ever avoid being held similarly responsible for even in the most advanced countries represented here by the allies, incidents which are here called atrocities, take place. Even in this allied occupation of Japan which is conceded to be the most successful occupation in all history, if one were to pick up our own English-language newspapers and piece together the reports of incidents by troops,

he could make out a count against General MacArthur end we, who are part of this occupation know that such a count would be extremely ridiculous for while General MacArthur is in command of the entire occupation, he is not in command of the troops themselves. Other generals command the troops and have the responsibility and duty for the maintenance of discipline.

General HATA, in command of the entire China theatre, was not in actual command of troops. Other generals, as for instance YOKEYAMA, were in command of the troops and theirs was the responsibility for discipline. With respect to army chain of command and the responsiblities of each level in that chain of command, we offered a series of documents promulgated by Japanese army headquarters in 1940 to help the Tribunal, as we thought, understand what were the respective responsibilties in the Japanese Army of General HATA as supreme commander in China and his subordinates who were in actual command of troops in the field. Mr. Freeman, in introducing these documents, stated "the defense contends that this line of command is of the essence to place responsibility if such acts were committed". And the President, in rejecting these documents on behalf of the Tribunal, stated "But we know that there are chains of command

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end responsibility". We therefore rest with the
 Tribunal' - knowledge of the chains of command and
 of the levels of responsibility and are certain it
 will agree with us that HATA was not responsible. (p.21813
           During the general phase of the defense
6 case, the case of the Doolittle Fliers came up for the
7 first time. General SAWADA, Commander of the Thirteenth
8 Army in Shanghai, which captured, tried, and executed
 the Doolittle fliers, was cross-examined by Mr.
 Tavenner (pege 27,450). This cross-examination on
 this subject took the defense completely by surprise,
  as there had been no hint during the prosecution's
  case in chief that HATA was in any wise connected
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  with the trial and execution of the Doolittle fliers.
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  Before proceeding with the defense evidence with
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  reference to this matter, we will review pertinent
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  portions from Mr. Tavenner's cross-examination of
  General SAWADA (page 27,451):
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             "Q Did you discuss the matter of the trial
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   of the Doolittle fliers with the accused HATA?
             "A As I was absent from my post, prior and
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   at the time of the trial, I had no discussion whatsoever
   with the commander in chief."
             (page 27,452):
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             " o As a matter of fact, did you not ask
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General HATA before the trials, -- didn't you say to him that you were waiting for the receipt of the orders to try the Doolittle fliers?

"A No such thing happened prior to the trial.

"Q Did not General HATA say to you that
he was also waiting for orders from Tokyo to try the

he was also waiting for orders from Tokyo to try the Doolittle fliers?"

And there, if the Tribunal please, we have in the prosecution's own question on cross-examination an acknowledgment by the prosecution that the trial and execution were ordered and handled by Tokyo, and that HATA's general headquarters in Nanking were the normal regular Japanese army channels through which orders from Tokyo GHQ to various Japanese army units in China were fowarded. General HAT. was Commanding General of all Japanese armies in China with his GHQ in Nanking. It needs no elaboration here, for the members of an International Military Tribunal must know it, that all orders emenating from the highest command in an army and directed to a subordinate unit must pass through the chain of command until they reach the headquarters of the appropriate lower echelon unit. In this case, we have Imperial General Headquarters in Tokyo, the highest authority in the Japanese / rmy, commanded by General SUGIYAMA.

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In the China theatre we have General HATA as Commanding General of that theatre of operations, with his headquarters in Nanking. In the vast country of China there were various Japanese Armies, each with its own headquarters, and, under these armies there were corps and their subordinate units. If any of the armies or subordinate units wished to communicate with Tokyo, they would have to route their messages through GHQ in Nanking to Tokyo. Similarly, 10 if the Supreme Command in Tokyo wished to communicate 11 with any unit in China, it sent its message for that 12 unit to GHQ in Nanking which then forwarded the message 13 to the appropriate unit. 14 With this as a background, we will proceed 15

With this as a background, we will proceed
to analyze the evidence offered by both sides and we
respectfully submit that the Tribunal will see that
at no time was General HATA the originating or initiating
authority in this matter but his only connection with
the matter was that his GHQ in Nanking was in the direct
chain of command through which all messages between
Tokyo and Shanghai Headquarters of the Thirteenth Army
had to pass.

We will begin then with General SAWADA's

answer to Mr. Tavenner's above quoted questions:

"A No. that he was waiting for the result

of the review of the Shanghai trial that was to take place in Tokyo."

SAWADA testified that the orders to the Thirteenth Army to hold the Doolittle Trial had come from HATA, the Commander in hief of the Japanese Armies in China. Mr. Tavenner then asked (page 27,454):

"Q Now I would like you to fix a little more definitely the time of your conference with the accused HATA and what it related to.

when I returned from the front-line after commanding operations. I went to General Headquarters to make a report. And at that time, among other things, I made a report on the trial of the Doolittle Fliers. At that time I told the Commander in Chief, General HATA, that the sentence seemed to have been very heavy. But, inasmuch as the results of the trial had been reported to Tokyo, there was nothing else that we could do, except to wait the results of the review which was being conducted in Tokyo. On that same occasion General HATA also said that inasmuch as the case was being reveiwed in Tokyo, there was nothing that could be done except to wait."

Here, then, on the prosecution's own crossexamination, we have evidence that Tokyo was reviewing

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the case, and that HiTA had said "there was nothing that could be done except to wait". This is not evidence offered by the defense, and therefore open to prosecution comment that it is untrue or manufactured or thought up now for purposes of trial by counsel, but the prosecution's own evidence showing definitely that HATA had no authority to act on his own and that the decision was being made in Tokyo. Cross-examination of this witness then was continued by counsel for HATA and this testimony was elicited (p. 27,457): "A I received my orders directly from the Commender in Chief, but I have heard that the Commander in Chief received his orders direct from Tokyo. "Q Where did you hear that? "A From General HATA. "Q Have you ever since that time learned that General HATA did receive orders from Tokyo to hold this trial? "A Yes. "Q From where? "A From General HATA. "Q Did you hear it from any other source at any time?

"A Yes, I heard that from General TOJO after

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I entered Omori Camp. That was much later. "Q Do you know when that was? Can you 2 p? ce that? 3 "A That was in October, the year before last -- November." 5 The Tribunal then asked the following questions 6 and received the following answers (p. 27,458): 7 "Q Were the judges in the case of the 8 Doolittle fliers obliged to sentence or at liberty 10 to acquit? 11 "A The judges were at liberty to conduct 12 the trial on the basis of the law. 13 "Q What was the law? 14 "A Military laws promulgated by the Chine 15 Expeditionary Forces. 16 "Q Did that permit of an acquittal? 17 "A No." 18 We respectfully submit that General SAWADA 19 is not the proper person to interpret laws and, even 20 if he had answered "yes" to the Tribunal's question, 21 that would still not be binding on the Tribunal, and it would still be up to the Tribunal to determine 23 whether or not the laws permit of an acquittal. The 24 law referred to was prosecution exhibit 1991 (p. 14,662)

deted August 13, 1942, issued by the Expeditionary

Forces in China. It was promulgated after receipt by HATA from the Vice-Minister of War in Tokyo of an order directed to each "chief of staff stationed in Japan and outside Japan" on the "treatment of enemy air crew members" and dated 28 July 1942 (pros. ex. 1192) stating the decision of Tokyo to try by courtmartial "enemy air crew members who entered our jurisdiction with the object of raiding Japanese territory".

That HATA's headquarters promulgated its
law after receipt of these orders from Tokyo is borne
out by the next question and answer by SAWADA (p. 27,459);

"Q when the Chine Expeditionary Forces
promulgated these laws, do you know whether or not
orders had been received from Tokyo for the promulgation
of these laws?

"A Although I heard of this later, the draft came from Tokyo."

Continuing, we learn that orders to the Thirteenth Army from Tokyo would have to go through HATA and be f rwarded by his headquarters (p. 27,465):

"Q General SAWADA, if orders had come from Tokyo, ordering the trial of the Doolittle fliers, before they could reach your headquarters they would have to go through the headquarters of General HATA

as Commander in Chief of the armies in China. Isn't that correct?

"A Yes."

And showing that the Shanghai court's decision would have to go through HATA's headquarters on its way to Tokyo:

"Q And when a decision was announced by the court, that decision had to be forwarded to Tokyo again through General HATA's office because he was Commander in Chief of the forces in China. Isn't that correct?

"A That is so, yes.

and they decided to change it from eight deaths to three deaths and five life sentences, again, in order to reach your command, that order making that change had to go through General HATA because he was Commander in Thief of the Armies in China, isn't that correct?

"A Yes, that is so."

That the orders for the trial came from Tokyo is conclusively established by an excerpt from General TOJO's interrogation (Pros. ex. 1984-A, p. 14,604):

"Q Then the order of occurrences was as follows: the raid, the capture of the fliers, the order which you issued, the trial and the executions.

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"A Yes.

"Q And the order which you issued provided for the trial and punishment.

"A Yes."

On re-cross, Mr. Tavenner asked if General H.TA had the power to make recommendations reducing "the death sentence to life imprisonment or other type of sentence". (p. 27,467). SAWADA stated, "I do not know about the authority of the Commander in Chief" and Mr. Tavenner then asked (p. 27,468):

"Q And he made no request that you make a recommendation; that is, the accused HATA did not?

HATA couldn't possibly ask SAWADA to make a recommendation because, the first time SAWADA and HATA met to discuss the trial, "already one month had elapsed at the time I had returned from the front" (p. 27,451) and "when I met General HATA the trial had already been over" (p. 27,452). And as to why neither HATA nor SAWADA had made recommendations about the decision of the court, this question and answer follow (p. 27,470):

"Q Is it the usual custom in the Japanese Army for you or General HATA to make recommendations in such cases to your superiors?

"A It was not a custom."

Now let us examine the defense testimony with respect to the Doolittle trial. The testimony of General MIYANO, a member of General HATA's staff in China, testified that the fliers were captured by the Eleventh and Thirteenth Armies in China "and when this was reported the order was given by the Chief of the General Staff in Tokyo to send those fliers to Tokyo immediately" (p. 28,869). When they were sent back from Tokyo, they were sent directly to Shanghai. Orders were sent with the fliers as follows (p. 28,870):

"A The order was in two parts. One part stated that a new military law for the treatment of fliers who raided Japanese areas had been created and ordered us to post the new law in accordance with a copy that was attached to the order. The second part ordered that the fliers be tried by military court in accordance with the new military law which was contained in the first part of the order.

"Q When was the order notifying you of the creation of the new military law received?

"A 28 July 1942."

MIYANO continues and states that HATA was opposed to treating the fliers as war criminals, but,

instead, wished to treat them as prisoners of war. Next MIYANO states (p. 28,872):

Headquarters did not have any military court in its organization, since Tokyo had sent the fliers directly to Shanghai, it was decided that the trial, if it had to be held, would be held by the 13th Army whose headquarters were in Shanghai. Because General HATA opposed the idea of trying the American fliers by a military court, instead of ordering the 13th Army to proceed with the trial, he ordered the 13th Army to investigate whether or not the fliers would be tried by military law or could be treated as prisoners of war.

"Q Did General HATA ever himself, or your headquarters, receive any answer from the 13th Army saying that the evidence was not sufficient to hold the trial?

"A No."

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That the case was then taken out of HATA's hands, that he no longer from this point on had any authority in the matter, that the trial was handled directly between 13th Army Headquarters in Shanghai and Tokyo, and that HATA did not have the authority to intercede to change the course of events, or even to make clemency recommendations, is best told not by us, but by the evidence introduced before the Tribunal by MIYANO and T.NAKA. We quote first from MIYANO's testimony:

"A When General HATA expressed his intention of generous treatment of those fliers to Lieutenant General USHIROGU, his Chief of Staff, Lieutenant General USHIROGU on the same day wrote a letter to the Vice-Chief of the General Staff in Tokyo, General TANABE, stating the intentions of General HATA and asking the intentions of the Tokyo Central Authorities. The letter was forwarded to Tokyo by messenger on an airplane the very same day.

"Q Then what happened?

"A As a result of the letter sent by Lieutenant General USHIROGU to the Tokyo Central Authorities stating the intentions of General HATA, Colonel ARISUE came all the way from Tokyo as emissary from the Chief of the General Staff and expressed the desires of the Chief of the General Staff, which were: To carry out the

trial in a very strict manner, and that punishment must be very strict. As a matter of fact, the Chief of the General Staff was expecting the death sentence. Further, it was the order of the Chief of the General Staff that the decision of the trial be forwarded to Tokyo immediately for action by Tokyo. The execution of the sentence should be stayed until the decision was forwarded from Tokyo after action was taken in Tokyo on the decision of the trial. Further, after execution of sentence, no announcement was to be made by the China Expeditionary Army Headquarters, but all announcements 12 relative to the trial, sentence and execution of 13 sentence would be made by Imperial Headquarters , in 14 Tokyo. In this connection, General HATA stated to Colonel ARISUE that because of the seriousness and the importance of the matter, he wanted the orders from Toky in writing. Colonel ARISUE retorted that because of the seriousness of the matter the Chief of the General Staff had decided to forward the orders not in writing but by his personal emissary, Colonel ARISUE himself, and that there was no more reliable way of conveying those orders than by the use of high ranking officer courier.

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After General HATA forwarded the orders of Tokyo that the fliers should be tried, what further action

did he take with relation to the trial? 1 No further action. 2 "C Did he appoint the members of the tri-3 bunal? AII No. 5 IIC Did he appoint the prosecutor? 6 11/1 No. 7 "Q Did he appoint the defense counsel? 8 u/ No. 9 116 Did he make any appointment for any 10 position with regard to the court or any of its members? 11 "A 12 No, this was not within his province. 13 trial was to be held by the 13th Army, which had its 14 headquarters in Shanghai, the place to which the fliers 15 had been delivered from Tokyo. With the arrival of 16 Colonel ARISU with a complete set of orders from Tokyo 17 that they were to be tried by military court, which 18 military court did not exist in the Headquarters of the 19 China Expeditionary Force which was located in Nanking, 20 control of all matters in the trial was out of our hands. 121 As the Headquarters of the China Expeditionary Force, 22 we were now the channel through which all orders relative 23 to the trial would pass and would be forwarded on to the 24 13th Army in Shanghai. 25

Did HATA make known to the 13th Army his

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intention to treat the fliers generously?

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No, because he had already been told by the emissary of the Chief of the General Staff what the intentions and desires were of the Chief of the General Staff. HATA as a subordinate could not make any recommendations of his own. If no orders had been received from Tokyo as to the intentions and desires of the General Staff, then General HATA as the highest authority of the Japanese Army in China would have been permitted to express his desires to the 13th Army. But since he had been told directly by the emissary of the High Command, Colonel ARISUE, what the Tokyo authorities desired, he had to control his own desires as to their treatment or the demands to be made for sentence. However, General HATA still did not give up his hope of giving the fliers a light sentence because there was still the order to forward to Tokyo immediately the decision of the trial. Then again, the execution of sentence was to be stayed until the decision of Tokyo was made known. On these two points General HATA thought Tokyo would consider the matter carefully and might mitigate the sentence or might do something different after their minute consideration of the entire case, so General HATA put every expectation on the further decision of the Tokyo people.

"Q Why didn't General HATA, when he received

the decision from Shanghai and then forwarded it to Tokyo as per instructions, make any recommendation to Tokyo to treat these people generously?

"A Since it has been ordered that the final decision would be made in Tokyo, General HATA could not suggest nor was it permissible for General HATA to suggest again and again to his superiors in Tokyo what they should do or to offer his recommendations. His intentions of treating the fliers in a generous manner had already been communicated to Tokyo through his Chief of Staff and that was the reason why Tokyo had dispatched Colonel ARISUE as emissary of the General Staff direct to HATA to notify him of the contrary intentions of the Tokyo Central Authorities. General HATA had good reason to expect, since he knew that his personal intentions were known to the General Staff and since they had ordered that execution of sentence be stayed until further order should be given by Tokyo they would mitigate the sentences. Indeed, he was correct in this because later the decision came from Tokyo saving the lives of five of the fliers.

"Q How had General HATA's intentions to treat these fliers in a fair manner become known to Tokyo?

"A When General HATA had disclosed his intentions to his Chief of Staff, Lieutenant General USHIROCU,

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Lieutenant General USHIROGU had reported it to the Vice-Chief of the General Staff in Tokyo and had asked the intentions and desires of the General Staff. That is how the intentions of General HATA became known to the General Staff and as a result of this knowledge, Colonel ARISUF was dispatched to Nanking to give the orders and the desires of the Chief of the General Staff for the conduct of the trial to General HATA.

"Q When the fliers were tried by military court under the newly promulgated military law promulgated by Tokyo and ordered posted in China, what decision was open to the court to make?

"A It could find the fliers guilty or it could acquit them.

"At any time during the entire proceedings was General HATA as Commander of the Japanese Armies in China permitted or authorized to exercise any discretion in the setting up of the tribunal, its members, recommendation to them of a decision?

"A No. With the arrival of Colonel ARISUE, the entire matter was handled directly in accordance with orders from Tokyo and in the same manner as if the trial had been held in Tokyo. The only difference was that Tokyo had sent the fliers back to Shanghai and had ordered the trial held there. Everything, including decision to

hold the trial, the law under which the trial was to be meld, the review of the sentence of the tribunal, the time as to the execution of the sentence and even the announcement of the trial and its sentence and the execution of the sentence were all handled by Tokyo. At no time were we permitted or were we in any position to alter or change any of those decisions or to offer our own recommendations. From the very beginning after the fliers were captured by the 11th Army and the 13th Army, Tokyo assumed control of the entire matter. They were ordered to Tokyo for questioning and examination and then when that was finished the fliers were returned to Shanghai and the order arrived that their trial should be held in China."

That HATA had no control over the situation, or authority to act, is testified to as follows (p. 28,882):

"A I only know that one day he told the commander of the 13th Army, Lieutenant General SAWADA that, 'I do not know whether you like the sentence of the tribunal or not, but that is a matter beyond my control. I can do nothing about it.'"

SAWADA, as we have already quoted, stated on cross-examination to Mr. Tavenner the same thing and Mr. Tavenner stressed it when he asked (p. 27,468) in

speaking to HATA:

"" You do recall that he said there was 'nothing for us to do,' that 'it would be reviewed in Tokyo'?

"A Yes."

With reference to the torture of the Doolittle fliers, in cross-examination by Mr. Sutton, MIYANO stated (p. 28,888):

"A I will now answer. Let me reply to that question. Matters of such a kind were completely outside the knowledge of the general headquarters at that time, and I believe that General HATA also was unaware of such incidents or instances, and I furthermore feel that -- and it was not until now that he has ever heard of that."

Later on we have this question and answer in cross-examination by Mr. Sutton (p. 28,890):

"Q By whom was the order issued directing that the fliers be tried?

"A The order was issued by the Chief of the Army General Staff.

"We You have stated that you have no means of knowing how they were treated in Japan. Did you have any means of knowing how they were treated in China under the command of General HATA?

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"A We had the means to know, but I do not think we were able to be informed of all the circumstances and facts.

"Q Did you make any effort to ascertain the true facts?

"A At that time, operations were in progress in China and only officers who were assigned to take charge of the investigation, handling, etc., of these fliers, were connected with the affair, and General Headquarters did not know all the details or particulars which would enable me to speak of such details."

That Tokyo, and not HATA, ordered the trial of the Doolittle fliers was brought our very nicely for us by Mr. Sutton's cross-examination of MIYANO (p. 28893)

"MR. SUTTON: May the witness be shown exhibit 1992.

"Q Is that the order which you referred to as having been received from Tokyo authorizing the trial of these fliers by the China Expeditionary Forces?

"A No, this particular document here was prepared by the war office establishing a regulation as to the handling of the Doolittle fliers and is not concerned with the question of placing these fliers on trial before a military court. What I have been talking about previously was an order sent by the Vice-Chief of

Staff in Tokyo in the name of the Chief of the Army

General Staff ordering the trial, which order was sent
by the General Staff Office in Tokyo to the China

Expeditionary Force.

"C What is the date of the order which you
have in your hand, exhibit 1992?

"L July 28.

"MR. SUTTON: May the witness by shown exhibit 1993.

"\ Is this one of the orders to which you referred?

"A Yes.

"Q And what is the date of the order of exhibit 1993?

"/. July 28."

Thus we can see from the prosecution's own cross-examination of MIYANO and by its own exhibit that HATA had received orders from Tokyo to try the Doolittle fliers, and the law for their trial had been promulgated in Tokyo. It was after HATA sent a letter on 30 July (p. 28,893) that he did not wish to try the fliers as war criminals, that Colonel ARISUE was sent to China by the General Staff in Tokyo with orders that the trial would be held, despite HATA's wishes.

THE PRESIDENT: This is a convenient break.

You are getting on to TANAKA's evidence. We will adjourn until half past nine tomorrow morning. (Whereupon, at 1600, an adjourn-ment was taken until Friday, 12 March 1948, at 0930.)